The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 17, Number 1 January / February 1998

Irving's New Nuremberg Study

Daniel Michaels

The Vexing 'Jewish Question'

Goldwin Smith

Otto Ernst Remer Dies in Exile

Free Speech Victory in Canadian Holocaust Heresy Battle

Transforming the Constitution

Joseph Sobran

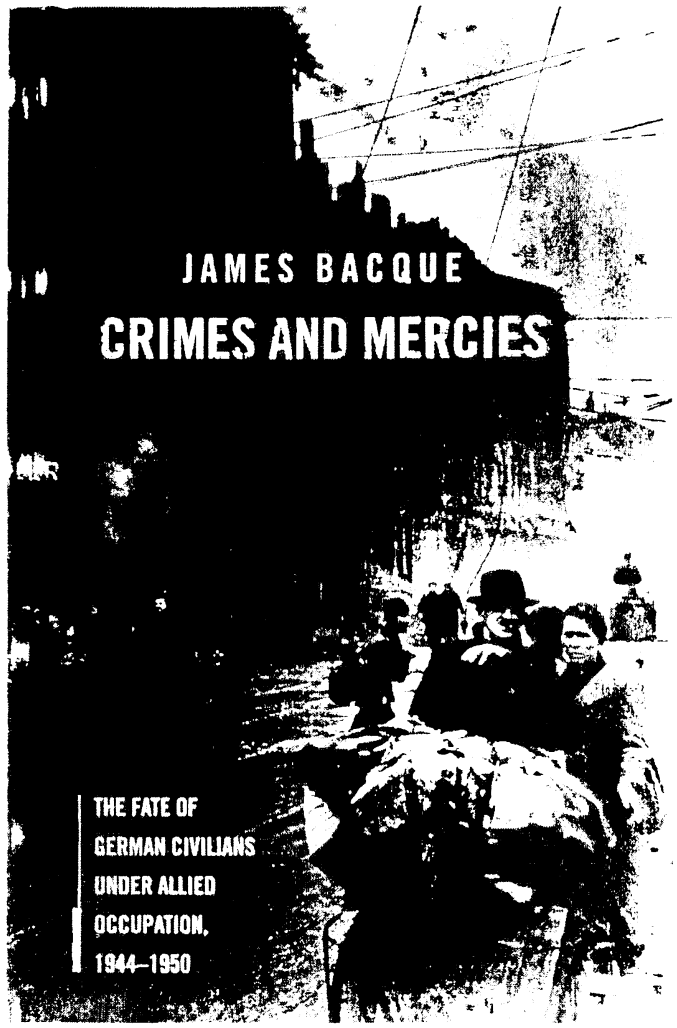
— And More —

A Concealed Holocaust!

Crimes and Mercies

In this powerful new book, Canadian historian James Bacque presents detailed evidence, much of it newly uncovered, to show that some nine million Germans died as a result of Allied starvation and expulsion policies in the first five years after the Second World War — a total far greater than the long-accepted figures.

These deaths are still being concealed and denied, writes Bacque, especially by American and British authorities.



Crimes and Mercies — a handsome hardcover work, illustrated and well-referenced — is a devastating indictment of Allied, and especially American, occupation policy in defeated postwar Germany.

Some 15 million Germans fled or were brutally expelled in the greatest act of "ethnic cleansing" in history, a human catastrophe in which some two million were killed or otherwise perished. Then, under the notorious "Morgenthau Plan" and its successor policies, the Allies carried out a massive looting of Germany, and even prevented German civilians from growing sufficient food to feed themselves.

Bacque shows, for example, that General Eisenhower, in violation of the Geneva Convention, in May 1945 forbade German civilians to take food to prisoners starving to death in American camps. He threatened the death penalty for anyone feeding prisoners.

Bacque also describes the terrors of the postwar camps in Poland where children and other German civilians lost their lives.

Written with fervor, compassion and humanity, and making use of never-before cited records in Moscow archives, James Bacque exposes a little-known but important chapter of 20th century history. He builds upon the revelations of his startling 1989 study, *Other Losses*, which presented evidence to show that hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war died as a result of cruel and illegal mistreatment by American, British and French authorities.

American historian Alfred M. de Zayas, author of *Nemesis at Potsdam* and *The German Expellees*, provides a valuable foreword.

Crimes and Mercies:

The Fate of German Civilians Under Allied Occupation, 1944-1950

by James Bacque

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Institute for Historical Review
P.O. Box 2739
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Editor: Mark Weber

Associate Editor: Greg Raven

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Canadian Jewish Congress Censorship Bid Thwarted

Victory for Collins and Free Speech in Holocaust Heresy Battle

In a surprise ruling, the British Columbia (Canada) Human Rights Tribunal rejected a complaint by a major Jewish organization against veteran journalist Doug Collins and his publisher, the *North Shore News*, for an allegedly anti-Jewish column on the "Schindler's List" motion picture. The Tribunal found that the opinion piece, which took aim at Holocaust claims, did not violate a provincial "anti-hate" law.

The closely-watched free speech case began in July 1994, when the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) brought a formal complaint against Collins and the North Vancouver newspaper, charging them with violating British Columbia's amended Human Rights Act.

Specifically the CJC cited a March 1994 column, "Hollywood Propaganda" (reprinted in the May-June 1994 *Journal*), in which Collins referred to the much-hyped movie as "Swindler's List" and "hate literature in the form of films." He also wrote that "the Jewish influence is the most powerful in Hollywood," and dismissed the fabled "six million" Holocaust figure as "nonsense." Remarked Collins: "You gotta love their movie and the people who made it, you see. Otherwise it's off to the dungeons." (For more on the background of this case, see "Canadian Jewish Congress Threatens Journalist for Holocaust Heresy," in the Jan.-Feb. 1996 *Journal*.)

CJC official Bernie Farber castigated the Collins column as "Holocaust denial" and "anti-Semitic hate speech." Such writing, he declared, "should never be tolerated in a free and democratic society."

The broadly-worded provincial Human Rights Act, as amended in 1993, forbids any publication "that indicates discrimination against a person or a group or class of persons ... or is likely to expose a person or a group to hatred or contempt." As Collins has noted, this law "covers the waterfront, the key words being 'indicate' and 'is likely'."

In her 113-page judgment, released November 12, Council hearing chairman Nitya Iyer strongly criticized Collins' "Schindler's List" column. "It is deliberately provocative and insulting," she wrote. "It is mean-spirited and expresses a smug self-satisfaction in the author's apparent success in freeing himself from the grip of the 'propaganda' by which the rest of society are still duped."

Notwithstanding that, Iyer concluded that the column fell short of violating the provincial Human Rights code: "Although the publication in issue is likely to make it more acceptable for others to express hatred or contempt against Jewish people because of their race, religion or ancestry, I find that it does not itself express hatred or contempt."

A Major Victory

Iyer's ruling is a important victory for freedom of speech in Canada, and a signal setback for the Zionist-Jewish lobby in its ongoing campaign to silence any voice regarded as harmful to Jewish interests. It is significant that this first-ever attempt in Canadian history to censor a writer by taking him to court for expressing his views was initiated by the country's leading Jewish-Zionist organization. The Canadian Jewish Congress "and its allied organizations," Collins charges, are "our biggest threat to free speech ... The CJC complaint is a direct attack on freedom of the press."

Because the Tribunal found, in effect, that questioning Holocaust claims is not necessarily "hate speech," the ruling has significance beyond Canada's borders. It affirms that Canadians — unlike citizens of Germany, France, Austria, Israel and some other countries where "Holocaust denial" is a crime — are legally free to express public skepticism of the orthodox Holocaust story.

Canadian newspaper publishers overwhelming agreed that the CJC complaint, and the law under which it was brought, threaten a basic right of Canadian citizens. The British Columbia Press Council condemned the CJC censorship bid, calling it "the most serious threat to press freedom in Canada" in 60 years.

So far the *North Shore News* has been forced to spend some $203,000 to defend itself in the case. Defenders of free speech and ardent Collins fans have donated more than $120,000 to a special *News* legal defense fund.

Along with many others, Collins had not

expected the gratifying verdict. "I was surprised," he said. "I thought it would go the other way." Collins went on to speculate that "the adjudicator [Iyer] came to the conclusion this [case] would reach the Supreme Court of Canada and when it did, the law would be thrown out. This way we may not pursue it."

Because the law under which the CJC complaint was made is still in place, the battle continues. As *News* lawyer David Sutherland commented: "We've won the day, but winning the day is not the answer. Government is the wrong agency or people to regulate the press ... that is so fundamental. It's important to Canada."

A Postponed Retirement

In his column of September 3, several weeks before the Tribunal's ruling, Collins announced his long-delayed retirement from the *News*. Now 77 years old, he stressed that the free speech battle had not forced him to retire. Rather, he had postponed retirement from 1995 because, as he wrote at the time, "to leave now would be desertion in the face of the enemy." More recently he commented: "It would not have been proper to leave before the hearing, so I hung on once more. I would not run out on the bravest publisher in the country." Now working on two new books, he says: "I may be retiring, but am not quitting."

Few North American writers have come under more sustained attack for outspoken and often unorthodox views than the British-born Collins. At the same time, many warmly admire him as an eloquent voice for Canada's "silent majority." Since 1984, his twice-weekly column was a very popular feature of the *North Shore News*. In more than 1,400 essays written in vigorous, straight-forward prose, Collins laid out well-informed but common-sense views on the country's most heated issues, including immigration, the status of Quebec, and special privilege "rights."

A leading Canadian literary magazine, *Saturday Night* dealt at length with the Collins/CJC case in a recent (November) issue. In the ten-page article, Paula Brook (who is Jewish) expressed alarm over the columnist's support for Holocaust revisionism. She disapprovingly noted: "Like Irving, Faurisson, Rassinier and Butz, Collins has had his work published by the California-based Institute for Historical Review, whose bi-monthly journal is banned in Canada ... In fact, his *News* column has been reprinted verbatim in that journal ..."

Collins' Record

In view of his record, especially during World War II, the effort by some prominent Jews to portray Collins as a kind of "neo-Nazi" is an absurd and vicious smear. After joining the British army as a volunteer at the age of 19, he served as an infantry sergeant in 1940 in France, where he was captured. He was later awarded the Military Medal "for bravery in the field" fighting Germans at Dunkirk.

Collins addresses the 1990 IHR Conference.

Escaping from a German prisoner of war camp in Silesia, he stealthily made his way to Hungary. After being captured there, he made another daring escape, this time making his way to Romania. He was imprisoned once again, but when Romania capitulated in 1944, he was freed and returned to Britain. After re-joining the military, he served in the final months' military campaign in northwest Europe. Following demobilization in 1946, he joined the British Control Commission in occupied Germany. He moved to Canada in 1952.

Collins' journalistic record is equally impressive. Recipient of two of Canada's most coveted awards for journalism, his career has included work as a reporter and commentator for several major Canadian daily papers and on television and radio. He is also the author of several books. His presentation at the 1990 IHR Conference, "Reflections on the Second World War, Free Speech and Revisionism," was published in the Fall 1991 *Journal*. (It is also available on audio and video tape from the IHR. See also "Doug Collins Under New Fire," in the Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 43-46).

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Retirement, 'Nuremberg' and Auschwitz 'Rambo'

Doug Collins

Retiring, Not Quitting

Put out more flags. Collins is retiring. My last regular column will appear in two weeks' time. It will be said that I am throwing in the towel, that the heat has been too much for me. Not so. Heat keeps me ticking.

For the benefit of liars in the media, here are the facts. I "retired" from the *North Shore News* in 1989. Even got a gold watch, courtesy of supporters. But on being asked to return to the paper I did so. I owed it.

When I wrote my $200,000 column on "Hollywood Propaganda" in [March] 1994, however, I had no idea that such a harmless piece would make history. In that same year the censors and bigots of the Canadian Jewish Congress laid their complaint before the Human Rights Gestapo. Jewish groups brook no questioning of their orthodoxies.

I thought the whole thing over within a year. So I planned to leave by the end of 1995. As I wrote on December 31 of that year: "This column was to have been my swan song. I had planned to quit today and start writing *The Diary of a Redneck*. But the Bill 33 thing still bubbles. To leave now would be desertion in the face of the enemy."

Ever optimistic, I then thought that the Inquisition would be done with me in 1996. But the inquisitors love to keep people on the rack as long as possible, in the hope that they will plead for mercy. The process forces victims to spend fortunes on legal fees if they want a decent defence, and is a warning to others not to be too bold.

By October of 1996 it looked as though The Great Heresy. Trial would not take place until I was 105. Would I live that long? So told the paper I would be leaving in March, 1997, come what may. But lo, the beast in Victoria suddenly stirred. Galileo Collins would face his accusers in June, three years after committing his "offence." It would not have been proper to leave before the hearing so I hung on once more. I would not run out on the bravest publisher in the country.

My friends all knew I was planning to retire. Southam correspondent Ian Haysore also knew about it when he did a write-up on the case in May. I asked him not to reveal the secret and he didn't. Charles Maclean knew, too, but said nothing. Why the secrecy? Because if my intention had been known while the "trial" was pending it would have looked as if I were running away. I have stayed the course, no matter what you may read in the gutter press to the contrary.

Another thing: next week I will be 77. So the sneering little twit who wrote in *Vancouver Magazine*, falsely, that I went into the rights hearing with a smug smile on my 76-year-old face will have to add a year if he does another piece. My departure may disappoint some people. I gave them something to distort.

There will probably be another up-bubbling when Glen Clark's NDP court brings down its decision. I have little doubt what that will be, but am always willing to be surprised. I am leaving now, regardless, because the "wrongs" die is cast and I will now have to wait see what the *real* courts do.

In the court of public opinion, meanwhile, it is my accusers who are seen as guilty. But that doesn't include the many freaks and mentally handicapped who write for *The Vancouver Sun* and *Province*. The man — and woman — in the street have *certainly* acquitted me. The mountains of letters show that. And it enrages my critics that the Defence Fund has reached $121,919. Nothing like it has been seen before.

Meanwhile, I still have two weeks in which to annoy the nice people who would like to see me hang by my heels from a hook, as would the *Sun*'s Paula Brook, who is loyal to her tribe. I now intend to put out a book of columns, plus a book entitled *Rights and Wrongs*. Even if I have to publish them myself. I may be retiring, but am not quitting.

Doug Collins, an award-winning journalist, has worked for several Canadian daily newspapers, and is the author of several books. He served with the British army during the Second World War, and then with the British control commission in postwar occupied Germany.

The three essays published here are reprinted from his columns in the *North Shore News* of September 3, 1997, August 10, 1997, and April 20, 1997.

Nuremberg: King of Kangaroo Courts

There's been a lot of talk about kangaroo courts lately, but the biggest kangaroo court of all took place over 50 years ago in Nuremberg. That most of the accused Nazis were criminals there was no doubt. And in his new book, *Nuremberg: The Last Battle*, David Irving does not attempt to mitigate Nazi excesses.

But there is equally no doubt that it was a travesty for the victor to try the vanquished. It was like having the family of a murder victim acting as the jury. Irving doesn't use that analogy but that was what it amounted to.

When emotions rule heads, it takes time for the obvious to emerge. I was working in Germany when the trials were on, and it did not occur to me that justice could not be served that way. They had started the war, hadn't they?

But views change. Lord Shawcross recently admitted that mistakes were made. He was the British prosecutor, and has been quoted as saying it was wrong to charge Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel with a crime that had not been invented until then, namely, conspiracy to wage aggressive war. "Looking back," he said, "It was victors' justice."

Irving shows us the background to the trials, including what the prosecutors and judges were telling one another. In effect they were a team. His work will not please anyone who thinks our side had been without blemish. Francis Biddle, the American judge at the trial, stated privately that "the Germans had fought a much cleaner war at sea than we did."

He also said that Admiral Karl Dönitz was being tried "not for starting a war but for losing one."

The defense was not allowed to use evidence of Allied transgressions. Thus the Russians, especially, were protected. Yet they had murdered 15,000 Polish officers at Katyn. They claimed, of course, that it was the Germans who had committed the crime, and German officers in Russian hands were hanged for it. The other trial judges knew very well who was guilty, but said nothing publicly.

Millions of Germans had been cleared out of their ancient lands in East Prussia and Silesia, too — a massive example of "ethnic cleansing" similar to what we are now holding Serbs responsible for. And when Dachau concentration camp was liberated in 1945, soldiers of the American 157th Infantry Regiment shot 520 of the camp guards and allowed inmates to kill many others. No mention could be made of that. But mention could be made of the 53 RAF officers shot by the Gestapo after getting out of *Stalag Luft III*.

The book also gives the origin of the six million story, meaning the number of Jews allegedly killed in the concentration camps and elsewhere. It was first mentioned in June 1945 by the spokesman for a group of "powerful Jewish organizations" in New York, who at that time could have had little idea of the truth of such a claim. It was, states Irving, "somewhere between a hopeful estimate and an educated guess."

The American chief prosecutor, Justice Robert H. Jackson, said he had "no authenticated data" on such a figure.

Later, he did mention 5.7 million, but that was also a guess. Many figures trotted out during the trial have since been proven wildly wrong.

Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, admittedly a nasty piece of work, was deprived of sleep for days, and whipped and clubbed into saying he had supervised the killing of 2.5 million people. The Jewish Field Security Sergeant (British) who arrested him was described how it took three days of torture to get Höss' first "confession." Before he was hanged, Höss said he would have made it five million if they had asked him.

Nuremberg is an important book. Even in England, however, I had to order it, and in Canada Irving's works are hard to obtain. You get one guess as to the reason. But ask your library to stock this one.

Australian Rambo Unmasked at Last

Everyone is entitled to do a bit of gloating. And it's gloat-time for Doug.

Last year I did a column on Donald Watt, an alleged Australian hero who claimed to have been a member of the *Sonderkommando* at Auschwitz, meaning he was a member of the special squad that stoked the crematoria there. *Stoker* was the title of his book, which was favorably reviewed in Australia and by *Spectator* magazine in London, whose reviewer thought it was the book of the year.

But I thought the story was highly unlikely. Not only about Auschwitz but also about Watt's escape stories and derring do. Given his claims, I wrote, it was a wonder he didn't win the war all by himself. "Rambo lives," I wrote.

My reasons for doubting Rambo's exploits were many. He had kept quiet about them for 40 years, not even telling his family, and his memory was jolted only when the Aussie government offered $10,000 to any of its armed forces who had landed up in concentration camps.

I know a bit about wartime Germany and escaping, and his story made little sense. None of his

alleged adventures was documented, for instance. Names, dates and places were notably absent. And although he spoke not a word of German he claimed to have traveled nearly 1,000 miles on one trip using a German identity. Mostly by train. In wartime Germany? Forget it. He also put himself up as an intrepid fellow whom the Gestapo thought worth torturing even though he was a nobody.

Fast forward to 1997 and the March 29 [1997] issue of *The Weekend Australian*, in which there was a whole page on Watt under the headline "Shadow of Doubt." And what do we read? That the Auschwitz part of his story has been disputed by leading Holocaust researchers in Israel, Germany, Poland and Australia. Gideon Greif of Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Memorial Center in Jerusalem, stated that after reading Watt's account of Auschwitz he "could ascertain that the author was at no time a member of the *Sonderkommando*. Doubtful also is that under any circumstances he was a prisoner there."

Werner Renz, the librarian of the documentation department at the Fritz Bauer Institute in Frankfurt (another research group) agreed, stating that the many errors in the book show that Watt could not have been what he said he was.

Over to Franciszek Piper, director of research at the Auschwitz Museum: "There is not any source that would confirm that among the prisoners at Auschwitz there was a British citizen from Australia, particularly, that such a prisoner was a member of the *Sonderkommando*." "In the text of Watt's book," stated Piper further, "I noticed a string of information borrowed from literature, which is presented as experiences of the author." (Which I take to mean that it was filched from other books.) "On critical inspection," he concluded, "immediate doubts arise as to whether [the] author was really a witness of the events described."

It gets better. In my column I laughed in print about Watt's claim that he had also spent some time in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp and seen its gas chambers. I knew at first hand that they did not exist. But Rambo claimed he saw Jews being taken to the gas chambers there and buried in mass graves dug by Russian POWs.

"The problem with his account," reported the newspaper, quoting Fritz Bauer and other institutions, "is that there were no gas chambers at Belsen." Asked about that, Watt at first denied he had ever written that there were any. Then he discovered he had done so. Sorry, he said in effect. "When I wrote the book after 50 years it was done from memory." He claimed he had got the one camp mixed up with the other. Which is not quite on.

The authorities who accepted Watt's story and paid him the $10,000 are sticking by their decision. But they would, wouldn't they. Watt is now refusing all interviews. But a film is being considered. Or was.

Why am I gloating? Because I was right and bigger leagues were wrong. And because after my Rambo column appeared, the usual Collins critics on the [Vancouver] North Shore leapt into the act to make fools of themselves.

Internet Web Site Offers Worldwide Access to Revisionism

Through his personal Internet web site, *Journal* associate editor Greg Raven makes available an impressive selection of material from the Institute for Historical Review, including dozens of IHR *Journal* articles and reviews.

An independent service that impartially reviews and rates web sites has given the site a positive rating. In the summer of 1996, Gale Research posted on the "Cyberhound" web site a rating for Raven's site of three stars (out of a possible four). It also praised the site for its "strong content that has been endorsed by other publications."

Interest in Raven's web site has been strong. Between August 1 and November 13, 1997, an average of 700 persons in countries around the world visited Raven's site every day — with a total of 73,422 visits or "hits" during this period. In recent weeks the site has been receiving as many as 3,000 visits per day. During this 105-day period, visitors to the site retrieved or transferred more than a million kilobytes of information altogether. On recent peak days, visitors have been retrieving some 30 megabytes of revisionist information daily, or the equivalent of some 21 *thousand* pages of double-spaced typewritten text.

Raven's site includes a listing of every item that has ever appeared in this *Journal*, enabling callers to quickly search for titles and authors. New items are added as time permits.

This revisionist material is instantly available to millions of computer users worldwide, free of censorship by governments or powerful special interest groups. It can be reached 24 hours a day from 146 countries through the World Wide Web (WWW), a multi-media Internet service.

Because it is linked to several other revisionist (and anti-revisionist) web sites, visitors can easily access vast amounts of additional information.

The web site address for IHR material is **http://www.kaiwan.com/~ihrgreg**

E-mail messages can be sent to the IHR in care of **ihrgreg@kaiwan.com**

War Hero Fled to Spain to Avoid 'Thought Crime' Imprisonment

Remer Dies in Exile

Otto Ernst Remer — a wartime German army officer who played a key role in putting down the July 1944 plot against Hitler, and an important postwar revisionist publicist — died on October 4, 1997, at the age of 85. Since 1994 he had been living in exile in the Spanish resort of Marbella. In poor health for some months, he died of natural causes.

He is survived by his wife, Anneliese. At the time of his death, it was announced that his remains would be cremated, with the ashes to be buried later in Germany.

Born on August 18, 1912, Remer volunteered for service in the German army in 1930. During the Second World War, he served as a front-line officer in France, the Balkans and on the eastern front.

After promotion to Major and then Colonel, in 1944 he was chosen to command the "Grossdeutschland" guard regiment in Berlin. In this post, the 31-year-old officer played a historically pivotal role in putting down the attempt by a small circle of insurgent officers to kill Hitler and seize control of the government.

On the afternoon of July 20, 1944, General Paul von Hase, the military commander in Berlin and a leader in the anti-Hitler conspiracy, announced to Remer that Hitler was dead, that civil disorder had broken out, and that the army was assuming overall authority in Germany. Hase ordered Remer immediately to seal off key government buildings in central Berlin.

Otto Ernst Remer in a 1944 portrait.

Hesitating to carry out this highly unusual order, Remer decided to contact Joseph Goebbels to confirm its validity. After telling the skeptical and uncertain Remer that Hitler was not dead, the propaganda minister and Berlin *Gauleiter* arranged for him to speak directly with the Führer by telephone at his military headquarters in East Prussia. (Although the bomb planted by conspiracy leader Colonel Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg during a conference had killed four officers, Hitler escaped with only minor injuries.)

"Major Remer, can you hear me, do you recognize my voice?," Hitler began. After explaining that an attempt on his life had failed, he gave Remer complete authority in Berlin to suppress the conspiracy. Remer and his men moved quickly to put down the revolt, which had been poorly planned and organized.

Five months later, Remer commanded the elite "Panzer Führer-Begleitbrigade" during the ill-fated "Battle of the Bulge" offensive. Following his promotion by Hitler on January 30, 1945, to the rank of Major General he was given command of tens of thousands of soldiers of the legendary "Panzer Führer-Begleitdivision." During the war's final months, he and his men fought off vastly superior Soviet forces, thereby rescuing hundreds of thousands of refugees who were fleeing the advancing Red troops.

Remer showed exemplary courage and valor in combat, and was wounded numerous times in battle. He was awarded some of the nation's most distinguished military decorations, including the Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross, the German Cross in Gold, the Oak Leaves of the Iron Cross, the Golden Wounded Badge, and the Silver Close Combat badge.

At the end of the war he came into American captivity, and remained a prisoner of war until 1947. During this period, the American commander of a camp for German prisoners, First Infantry Division officer Stanley Samuelson, said of him: "Of the 87

Remer speaks at the Eighth IHR Conference, October 1987.

German generals in this camp, General Remer is the only one whom I respect as courageous and honorable."

Remer played a leading role in the formation of the postwar "Socialist Reich Party," which, after winning 16 seats in a state parliament, was banned in 1952. Remer than lived in exile for several years in Egypt and Syria. He also wrote two books, including "Conspiracy and Treason Around Hitler" (*Verschwörung und Verrat um Hitler*), a memoir and study reviewed by H. Keith Thompson in the Spring 1988 *Journal*.

As a featured speaker at the Eighth (1987) Institute for Historical Review Conference, Remer spoke on "My Role in Berlin on July 20, 1944." (His address was published in the Spring 1988 *Journal*, and is available on both audio- and video-tape from the IHR.)

In October 1992 a German court in Schweinfurt sentenced him to 22 months imprisonment for "popular incitement" and "incitement to racial hatred" because of allegedly anti-Jewish "Holocaust denial" articles that had appeared in five issues of his tabloid newsletter, *Remer Depesche*. The judges in the case flatly refused to consider any of the extensive evidence presented by Remer's attorneys. (See the March-April 1993 *Journal*, pp. 29-30, and the May-June 1994 *Journal*, pp. 42-43.)

To avoid imprisonment, in February 1994 Remer sought exile in Spain. (See the July-August 1995 *Journal*, pp. 33-34.) German authorities sought his extradition, but Spain's highest court rejected these requests on the basis that Remer's "thought crime" was not illegal in Spain. Nevertheless, until the final weeks of his life, German authorities persisted in their efforts to extradite the dying octogenarian so that he could be imprisoned in Germany.

Many of the numerous newspaper reports that have appeared about Remer over the years have contained demonstrable falsehoods. For example, he has repeatedly, and inaccurately, been referred to as a former "SS man" or "SS officer." In fact, he was never even a National Socialist party member.

Newspapers also reported that Remer "denied the murder of Jews" or "declared that no Jews were murdered under the National Socialist regime." Actually, Remer pointed out, "I have never denied that Jews were killed during the Third Reich, but have only disputed the figures of Jews who died in Auschwitz and the alleged method of killing" (that is, in gas chambers).

In challenging the gassing claims, Remer cited the various forensic studies of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz, particularly the investigations carried out by German chemist Germar Rudolf and American gas chamber specialist Fred Leuchter.

The Remer case points up the strange and even perverse standards that prevail in Germany today. Although his "crime" was a non-violent expression of opinion, to dispute claims of mass gassings in wartime concentration camps is regarded in today's Germany as a criminal attack against all Jews, who enjoy a privileged status there.

More than half a century after the end of the Third Reich and the Second World War, Germans are ceaselessly exhorted to "never forget" the anti-Jewish measures of the Hitler era, to atone for what is called the most terrible crime in history, and to regard themselves as a nation of criminals and moral misfits. As a further expression of the country's "national masochism," the July 1944 conspirators are officially venerated, while outstanding wartime combat heroes and selfless patriots such as Remer are dishonored.

Particularly in Germany, the struggle on behalf of historical truth is not merely an academic question — it is an issue of national survival.

If Germany were ever to find itself in another major war, it would be suicidal stupidity to cite as role models for its soldiers and officers the individuals who, at a time of national emergency, tried to assassinate the nation's leader and overthrow the government in a murderous *putsch*.

Every nation with a healthy survival instinct naturally venerates, particularly in time of war, individuals of exemplary self-sacrifice, patriotism, and heroism — men of the caliber of Otto Ernst Remer.

— *M.W.*

Remer Speaks

The uprising, or, better said, the revolt, of July 20, 1944, failed not because of my intervention, but rather because of the inner lack of goals and conceptualization by its heterogeneous participants, apparently a privileged but subdued nobility class, who were, of course, united in their rejection of Hitler, but who were completely disunited in all other issues. The putsch failed because it began with unclear ideas, was prepared with insufficient means, and was carried out with almost astonishing awkwardness. Moreover, it is also known that no political support was promised from outside of Germany, which meant that the only possible result would have been unconditional surrender.

No one needs to ask what would have happened if the July 20, 1944, undertaking had succeeded. The German eastern front, which at that time was involved in extremely serious defensive battles, would undoubtedly have collapsed as a result of the civil war that inevitably would have broken out, and the attendant interruption of supplies... A collapse of the eastern front, however, would not only have meant the deportation of further millions of German soldiers into the death camps of Russian captivity, but would also have prevented the evacuation of countless women and children who lived in the eastern territories of the Reich, or who had been evacuated to those areas as a result of the terror attacks from the air by the western Allies.

Precisely because of his experiences on the eastern front, every thinking soldier knew what would happen to us if we were to lose this war. German soldiers were quite deeply convinced of the necessity of this struggle in the interest of the survival of our continent. We had not attacked Russia out of pure zeal to conquer. Rather, we were forced to act because the Soviets had deployed superior forces of more than 256 divisions in order to invade Europe at an opportune hour.

During my lifetime I have gotten to know and understand more than 50 countries, particularly in the Arab world and black Africa. These countries live under diverse political systems. In contrast to us, these nations all love and respect their own homelands, and are proud of their own countries and traditions.

The system of "reeducation" after 1945 has turned the Germans into a neuroticized people. This spiritual-psychic condition of society in the [German] Federal Republic thereby renders it incapable of self-awareness or of taking decisive counter-measures against the leftist organized revaluation of the natural life order.

Major General Remer, right, commander of the "Panzer Führer-Begleitdivision," talks with Major General Maeder during the battle near Lauban (lower Silesia) in March 1945.

A democracy is not good and acceptable because it calls itself a democracy, but rather when it recognizes and respects the traditional and living values of its own national community. I also believe that in every western democratic country, including here in Germany, no one can be happy about a democracy that does not also have a positive regard for its own people, state and nation. Contrary to the prevailing dogma, I have gained the impression that human beings are not equal, if for no other reason than on the basis of their very different cultural views. Nevertheless, I have observed that everywhere in the world, nationalists and those who love their own countries are able to speak with each other in the same language and understand each other, which is not the case among democrats of each country.

When one observes the tumultuous defamation of the Third Reich and the continual and repulsive self-accusations, one has to ask himself: is Hitler still so strong and the German Federal Republic so weak that the ignorant citizens of Germany can be convinced of the value of this democracy only by repetitiously repeating the old confessions of self-guilt? I do not believe so. In the long run, the historical truth cannot be suppressed.

Dangerous Reputation

"One of the best ways to get yourself a reputation as a dangerous citizen these days is to go about repeating the very phrases which our founding fathers used in the great struggle for Independence."
— Charles A. Beard (1874 -1948)

Revisionist Progress in Nippon

Japanese Court Declines to Validate Gas Chamber Claims

In a major victory in Japan for freedom of speech and research on the Holocaust issue, a Tokyo District Court has declined to give judicial validation to claims of mass extermination gas chambers in wartime German concentration camps.

The case began in April 1997 when Japanese revisionist author Aiji Kimura brought a lawsuit against three defendants for a series of articles in the weekly magazine *Shukan Kinyobi* that, he charges, portray him as a "falsifier of history."

In August one of the defendants in the case quoted Presiding Judge Toshimi Ouchi, who called him into the judge's chamber, as saying: "The court cannot decide whether gas chambers existed. The court can only judge whether there was [an act of] defamation." (*The Japan Times*, Aug. 11, 1997).

Another defendant in the case, a Japanese journalist, expressed outrage at the judge's remarks: "That a court can openly choose not to make a decision over the existence of gas chambers is an illustration of Japan's lack of a moral yardstick by which to judge right from wrong. I think it is only Japan, of all countries in the world, that such an idiotic thing can happen."

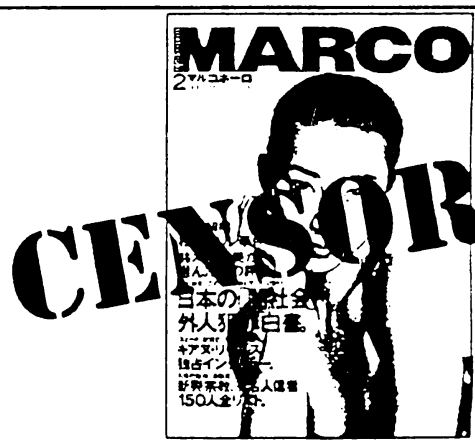
Judge Ouchi's decision shows that, in Japan at least, one may dispute claims of gas chamber killings at Auschwitz and other German wartime camps without fear of legal punishment. With regard to the Holocaust issue, Japan permits greater freedom of speech and expression than do countries such as Germany, France and Austria, where "Holocaust denial" is a crime.

At the same time, though, formidable economic and social pressure can be applied to force compliance with the prescribed orthodoxy. In early 1995 a major Japanese magazine, *Marco Polo*, was compelled to shut down because it had published a ten-page article disputing the orthodox Holocaust extermination story. The article, headlined "The Greatest Taboo of Postwar World History: There were no Nazi 'Gas Chambers'," was written by Dr. Masanori Nishioka, a physician.

Jewish organizations responded with an international boycott campaign, promptly pressuring major corporations into cancelling advertising. The large Bungei Shunju publishing company quickly caved in, and news of the unprecedented surrender received worldwide media coverage. (A detailed report appeared in the March-April 1995 *Journal*, pp. 2-9.)

A few months later, the first book-length Japanese-language presentation of Holocaust revisionism appeared in bookstores. Written by Aiji Kimura, "The Auschwitz Debate" (*Aushuvittsu no souten*) is a handsome 350-page hardcover work, illustrated with numerous photographs. (A detailed report on Kimura's book and the continuing Holocaust debate in Japan appears in the May-June 1997 *Journal*, pp. 34-36.)

In June 1997 a second well-referenced revisionist book on the Holocaust issue was published in Japan, this one by Dr. Nishioka. (A report on this work, "Auschwitz: Truth of Gas Chambers: What is the true tragedy," will appear in a forthcoming *Journal* issue.)



'Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine,' a 30-page IHR Special Report, is available from the Institute for $20.

This important supplement to the feature article in the March-April 1995 *Journal* includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the Marco Polo furor, and more.

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— Thomas Jefferson, 1821

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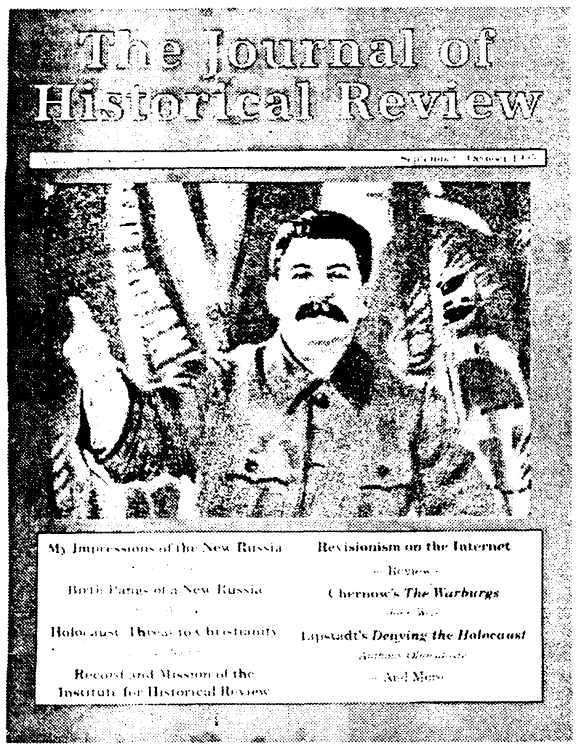
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Transforming the Constitution

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Our Savaged 'Living' Constitution

Most Americans are taught, and assume, that we still live under the Constitution of the United States. We are even told that the Constitution improves with age — that it's a "living document" whose full potential has only been realized in modern times thanks to the interpretations of the Supreme Court.

Thanks to the Court, we now know that the First Amendment protects obscenity, but forbids prayer in public schools. We know — again thanks to the Court — that we have a constitutional right to "privacy," which means that a woman may have her child aborted without consulting or informing the father. We know that the abortion laws of all 50 states, even the most permissive, had been in violation of the Constitution.

We know, in short, that many of our moral and religious traditions are "unconstitutional" — in the eyes of our ruling elite. It seems to make no difference that most of us had no inkling that we were acting unconstitutionally until the modern Court announced the fact to us.

On the other hand, the Court finds nothing unconstitutional about the countless new powers constantly claimed by the federal government, even when these clash directly with the Bill of Rights. The Court upholds federal gun control laws, even though the Second Amendment says plainly "the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

So the Court can create "rights" that are nowhere mentioned or implied by the Constitution; and it may set aside rights that are explicitly listed in the Constitution.

It is all, of course, nonsense.

This is what the idea of a "living document" comes down to: The Court is not bound by the plain meaning of the words it interprets. It may assign unsuspected new meanings to those words, disregarding history, tradition, and the dictionary.

The Constitution was not "dead" before the modern Court went to work on it. It had been amended five times in the two decades before Franklin Roosevelt sought to change it by stealth during the New Deal. That was the fastest rate of amendment since the adoption of the Bill of Rights.

Far from being dead, the Constitution proved capable of being changed by the people themselves through the amending process the Constitution provides for in Article V. It didn't have to be subtly twisted by clever jurists bent on reading their pet notions into it.

There is no need to rehearse all the details of the great change that has occurred since Roosevelt filled the Court with his cronies. In fact, many learned constitutional scholars know the details without seeing the pattern those details form: They don't grasp that the Constitution has been stood on its head.

The clear purpose of the Constitution is to distribute power very carefully. Most powers of government are reserved to the states and the people; this is implicit throughout, but it is affirmed expressly by the Tenth Amendment, and is clear from all the ratification debates of 1789. A very few powers, carefully listed and defined, are *delegated* (key word!) to the federal government. These few powers, in turn, are divided among three branches of government, one of which (Congress) is further divided into two houses.

In granting new powers to the federal government, then, the framers of the Constitution were anxious to prevent power from being centralized, or (in their fearful word) "consolidated." The idea of trusting any single man, group, or branch of government with all power was the very opposite of what they had in mind.

It is worth noting that a close modern synonym of the word "consolidated" is "fascist." Centralization of power is the fascist — as well as the "socialist and communist" ideal. And elements of all three systems, which were sweeping Europe and Russia, helped inspire and form the New America of the

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Joseph Sobran is a nationally-syndicated columnist, lecturer, author (most recently of *Alias Shakespeare*), and editor of the monthly newsletter *Sobran's* (P.O. Box 1383, Vienna, VA 22183). "Our Savaged 'Living' Constitution" is reprinted from the Jan.-Feb. 1994 issue of *Capitol Hill Voice* (P.O. Box One, Washington, DC 20044), a newsletter edited and published by Dale Crowley, Jr. "Base Motives" is reprinted from the March 9, 1995, issue of the traditionalist Roman Catholic weekly *The Wanderer* (201 Ohio St., St. Paul, MN 55107). "As We Were" is reprinted from the January 1996 issue of *Sobran's*.

New Deal.

The champions of consolidated government knew that the old Constitution was the great obstacle to their designs. They wanted to preserve the outward forms of constitutional government while emptying those forms of content, because an openly revolutionary government could not command the allegiance of the American people. So they developed the strange idea of a "living" or "evolving" Constitution that somehow became the opposite of itself and actually *reversed* its meaning with the passage of time.

Today the plain and original meaning of the Constitution exists only on paper, and in the minds of a shrinking number of Americans who still understand the heritage they have been robbed of. We live in what might be called post-constitutional America, where the arbitrary and purposeful misinterpretation of the Constitution has turned ours into a government of men, not laws. The doctrine of the "living" document" really makes the Constitution a dead letter, a law without effect.

Does this sound gloomy? There is no need to despair. By recognizing the idea of a "living document" for the nonsense it is, we can restore the Constitution and reclaim the liberty our ancestors earned for us.

Base Motives

The Pentagon's plan to close 33 military bases and shrink 8¢ more has raised howls of anguish and congressional opposition — not because it would expose the nation to military attack, but because it would eliminate tens of thousands of jobs and hurt the economies of the host communities. Some are crying that the cuts would be "unfair."

Well, the purpose of national defense is not "fairness." It is defense. If a base, or for that matter a single rifle, is not needed, nobody should be taxed to pay for it. Behold how "defense" has become an entitlement program. We have also become accustomed to the phrase "defense industry." What it all means is that we are supporting a parasitic military economy that bears no relation to "the common defense of the United States" as intended by the Constitution.

The phrase "common defense" is as badly abused as the phrase "general welfare," which was never meant to authorize "welfare" in the current sense of the word. Nobody now seriously pretends that the things referred to under the headings of "defense" and "welfare" benefit the entire population. We have come to accept them as special interests, and we're not outraged when politicians fight for them as such.

No marvel we have those deficits. The problem lies in our political ethos, the remedy for which is not another constitutional amendment — unless it's an amendment to strip the federal government of the powers to tax and to control the currency. One of the most pivotal years in American history was 1913, when the federal government acquired the constitutional authority to levy income taxes, while relieving itself of the duty of maintaining sound money by creating the Federal Reserve Bank. Yet even with the great prerogatives of confiscation and counterfeiting, it has been unable to stay in the black, because these tyrannical powers have given it the tyrant's fatal illusion that there are no limits. The illusion is all the more deadly because we haven't had a single dictator to whom responsibility may be referred: The dictatorial powers have been distributed among so many politicians that none has had to worry about taking the consequences or bearing the disgrace due to a wastrel regime.

Joseph Sobran

As We Were

As the two parties in Washington quibbled about how and when to balance the budget, an article by Harold Faber in the December 31 [1995] *New York Times* recalled that the federal government once paid off its debts and had an actual surplus of $19 million — a lot of money in 1836. This surplus was matched the following year. What to do with it? Senator Henry Clay proposed giving the extra money back to the states.

"But," writes Faber, "there was a serious problem — the Constitution. Disposing of surplus money was not one of the powers enumerated for Congress in the Constitution, and, in those days when the Constitution was taken far more literally than it is now, that was a major obstacle."

Such was American life back in what might be called the constitutional era. Evidently the Commerce Clause hadn't been discovered yet, and Congress didn't realize it had unlimited power to follow its fancies. Again we find that our ancestors are strangers to us.

Faber sketches the situation: "In those simple days, before income and corporate taxes, the United States got its money from two major sources: customs duties and the sale of public lands. And there

were only five categories of expenses: the Army, the Navy, pensions, payments to Indians, and miscellaneous." Today, of course, such items as "payments to Indians" would be lost under "miscellaneous."

The *Times* presented this story as a minor historical curiosity. But compared with what the Paper of Record usually deems "all the news that's fit to print," it's a major revelation. It shows how deeply the ethos of limited government was ingrained in the people and the politicians in those days of innocence (not to be confused with naivete).

Try to imagine today's Congress deliberating so conscientiously. Try to imagine Alphonse D'Amato and Robert Byrd in the same room with Clay and Calhoun. In 1836 Congress had little taxing power and was too scrupulous to debase the currency, yet it still ran a $19 million surplus. Today Congress can tax every falling sparrow and has elevated inflation to the status of tradition, but has nevertheless run up a debt of $5 *trillion*.

The Constitution is to today's federal government what the Book of Revelation is to the Unitarian Church. Of course Unitarian ministers don't pretend they're being faithful to Scripture.

It's not just that the Constitution was read more "literally" in the old days, though it was. An even more basic difference was that the federal government hadn't yet assumed the *monopoly of interpretation* it now enjoys. Everyone still understood that the Constitution was "We the, People" speaking *to* the federal government, telling it both its powers and its limits. "We the People" carefully "enumerated" the powers which had been "granted" or "delegated" to the government we had created, specifying that all other powers were "reserved" to the states or to the people themselves. If Congress couldn't cite chapter and verse for any power it chose to exercise, that power was "usurped," and the line between legitimate authority and tyranny had been crossed.

For the federal government to be the sole or final interpreter of its own commission would have been absurd — and dangerous. It would mean that the government could add to its own powers by disingenuous construction. And that is exactly what happened. By the twentieth century it had become true that the Constitution meant whatever the Supreme Court said it meant. And with the New Deal it turned out to "mean" that Congress could grab any power it chose to claim under, say, the interstate commerce provision. The usurpation of power became routine.

What's more, the Court, after World War II, also began to strip the states of their reserved power under the application of the Bill of Rights via the totally specious "incorporation" doctrine of the Fourteenth Amendment. Instead of defending the people's rights against the federal government, the Court was now accusing the *states* of violating them — whether by segregating the races, sponsoring school prayer, inflicting the death penalty, or banning abortion. Hundreds of legitimate state laws were struck down, while Congress passed hundreds of unconstitutional laws that went unchallenged by the Court.

All this in turn meant that instead of *obeying* the Constitution, the federal government was now pretending to *enforce* it; that instead of *preventing* federal usurpations of power, *the Constitution itself had become the instrument and pretext of federal usurpation*.

The point can be put another way. The Constitution has ceased being the voice of "We the People" and has become the oracle of the federal government, which solely controls its meaning and is prepared to impute to it any absurdity necessary to maintain and enlarge federal power. "We the People" now wait passively for our alleged servants to tell us what their power, and our rights *are*. *It* shouldn't surprise us that the servants keep discovering that their constitutional powers are greater today than they were yesterday. Sometimes they also "expand" our rights, but only in the course of stripping away the reserved powers of the states. (We acquired the "right" of abortion only because the Court stole the states' power to regulate it. *Roe v. Wade* increased the actual ratio of federal to state power.)

The American people have supinely allowed their Constitution to be stolen from them. Almost all of them now assume that it's virtually federal property, which only the Supreme Court can interpret with authority.

But any responsible reading of the Constitution is fatal to the standard liberal interpretation of it. That interpretation is simply incoherent, for all the support it enjoys from prostitute scholars and journalists. The Constitution not only doesn't but *can't* mean what they want it to mean. In *Federalist* 41, James Madison tried to reassure his readers that federal power would be limited. Why enumerate Congress's powers in detail, he asked, if Congress was supposed to exercise a single, monolithic, consolidated power? Still, just to make sure everyone got the point, the Tenth Amendment spelled it out: any power *not* delegated to the federal government belonged to the states and the people.

Nobody in 1789 could have foreseen that one day Congress would claim 95 percent of its powers under a single innocuous phrase of the Commerce Clause. Such an interpretation would have been too outlandish for the most ardent advocate of strong federal government.

But outlandish interpretation, contemptuous of

logic, history, plain meaning, and justice, has become the rule. And it's feasible only because the federal government gets to say what the Constitution means; because its highest court can be relied on to rule in its interests; and because the American people don't understand the whole confidence game that has taken their own Constitution out of their hands.

The situation will cease to be hopeless only when we begin to grasp how bad it really is. In the 1992 case of *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, the Court reaffirmed *Roe v. Wade* on grounds that (according to three members of the majority) its own authority would suffer if it were to reverse that dubious ruling. In other words, the Court was treating itself as a party to the controversy and deciding in its own favor, in defiance of every principle of jurisprudence. In effect it was confessing that it couldn't afford to admit error, because its own interest was paramount; and so much the worse for truth.

In his 1798 Draft of the Kentucky Resolutions, Jefferson wrote, with his usual firm logic, that "the [federal] government created by this compact [i.e., the Constitution] was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers." To allow the federal government such discretion, he added, "would be to surrender the form of government we have chosen, and live under one deriving its powers from its own will, and not from our authority." "Its dominion," he said, "would be absolute and unlimited."

I am tempted to call Jefferson clairvoyant, but he wasn't. He was merely splendidly rational. He didn't need a crystal ball to predict where the tendency he saw must lead in the end. It would lead to us.

By simple deduction from the nature of the issue, Jefferson foresaw what most Americans can't see even in hindsight. We are so politically decadent that we have accepted as right and natural that our rulers should claim the prerogative of deciding arbitrarily what this "compact" means. It's up to them, and them alone, to say what "We the People" have authorized them to do. A sane system has been displaced by a crazy one that utterly defeats the purpose of the original. And we don't realize it was ever any different.

Jailed in 'Democratic' Germany:

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A courageous German-American civil rights activist tells the full, inside story of his arrest in Germany in August 1995, and five months' imprisonment, for remarks he made in letters and periodicals written in and sent from the United States. German authorities jailed the outspoken 68-year-old publicist because his references to the "Holocaust tale" and the "Jew-infested" German political system were judged to be insulting to Jews, and thus a violation of the country's selectively enforced "popular incitement" law. Although he is a naturalized American citizen, the US State Department refused to protest his arrest.

Written in an engagingly upbeat style, with an eye for the telling anecdote, Hans Schmidt recounts his legal struggle and the rigors of his imprisonment, and provides valuable insights and commentary on post-war Germany's subservience to powerful supra-national forces. This protest against totalitarian injustice is a devastating indictment of Germany's blatant double standard on democratic rights, as well as an eloquent plea for free speech and truthful, revisionist awareness of history.

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The Vexing 'Jewish Question': A Nineteenth-Century Scholar's View

GOLDWIN SMITH

Although today it is considered tactless if not hateful to speak openly of a "Jewish question," the often thorny matter of relations between Jews and non-Jews in society is a real issue that has bedeviled countless governments and scholars for centuries. In the following essay, a prominent British scholar tackles this issue with a forthrightness, perceptiveness and courage that is all too rare among academics in our own day.

The author is Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), a prominent 19th-century educator, historian and author. He was educated at Oxford University, where he became regius professor of modern history in 1858. Moving to the United States in 1868, he joined the faculty of Cornell University as a professor of English literature and Constitutional History. He moved to Toronto in 1871, where he continued to write prolifically until his death.

A "classic liberal," Smith was ardently pro-democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-militaristic. An enemy of slavery and an admirer of Abraham Lincoln, he championed the cause of the North during the American Civil War. His booklet, Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery? *(1863) had considerable impact on public opinion in Britain. As a lifelong supporter of "Anglo-Saxon" unity, he worked for close ties between Britain, the United States and Canada.*

According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica *(1957 edition), Smith's "principal historical writings —* The United Kingdom: a Political History *(1899), and* The United States: an Outline of Political History *(1893) — make no claim to original research, but are remarkable examples of terse and brilliant narrative."* The Columbia Encyclopedia *(second edition) says that he "earned a position of great respect in the United States, Canada and Great Britain for his educational and social work." Among the available profiles of his life is a biography by Elisabeth Wallace,* Goldwin Smith: Victorian Liberal *(Univ. of Toronto Press, 1957).*

The following essay, originally entitled "The Jewish Question," is reprinted here from the second, revised edition of his book, Essays on Questions of the Day, *published in 1894 by Macmillan (New York and London), and reprinted in 1972 by Books for Libraries Press (Freeport, New York).*

In this bold sketch, Smith shows that the "Jewish Question" has persisted since ancient times — over many centuries and in diverse cultures. His observations and presentation of facts point up parallel problems in own era.

He establishes that horrific and much-publicized accounts of anti-Jewish pogroms in the Russian empire during the 1880s were grossly exaggerated, and debunks the widely accepted charge that these anti-Jewish outbursts were rooted in religious bigotry and intolerance.

The recurring friction between Jews and non-Jews through the ages, Smith persuasively argues, is due primarily not to the defects or iniquities of non-Jews, but rather is a lamentable but nevertheless quite understandable reaction to Jewish behavior. The most galling features of this behavior, he contends, are rooted in the distinctively tribalistic character of the Jewish religion as laid out in the Talmud and the Old Testament.

As a solution to this seemingly interminable problem, Smith proposes that Jews should "denationalize" themselves by renouncing Jewish tribalism and particularism. In other words, he urges comprehensive Jewish assimilation into society — a "solution" to the "Jewish question" that is also implicit in traditional American liberalism.

In the following reprint, information originally provided by Smith in footnotes has been incorporated into the text in parentheses. Subheads have been added between paragraphs, and some explanatory words have been added to the text in brackets. A few portions have been deleted, as shown by ellipses.

— M.W.

Jewish ascendancy and the anti-Semitic movement provoked by it form an important feature of the European situation, and are beginning to excite attention in America. Mr. Arnold White, Baron Hirsch's commissioner, says, in a plea for the Russian Jews ("The Truth about the Russian Jew," *Contemporary Review*, May 1892), that "almost without exception the press throughout Europe is in Jewish hands, and is largely produced by Jewish brains;" that "international finance is captive to Jewish energy and skill;" that in England the fall of the Barings has left the house of Rothschild alone in

its supremacy; and that in every line the Jews are fast becoming our masters. Wind and tide, in a money-loving age, are in favor of the financial race.

At the same time the anti-Semitic movement gains ground. From Russia, Germany, Austria, and the Danubian Principalities, it spreads to the Ionian Islands; it has broken out in France; symptoms of it have appeared even in the United States. Yet there is a persistent misapprehension of the real nature of the agitation. It is assumed that the quarrel is religious. The anti-Semites are supposed to be a party of fanatics renewing the persecutions to which the Jews were exposed on account of their faith in the dark ages, and every one who, handling the question critically, fails to show undivided sympathy with the Israelites is set down as a religious persecutor. The Jews naturally foster this impression, and, as Mr. Arnold White tells us, the press of Europe is in their hands.

Pogroms in Russia

In 1880, anti-Semitic disturbances broke out in Russia. A narrative of them entitled "The Persecution of the Jews in Russia," was put forth (in 1881) by the Jewish community in England as an appeal to the British heart. In that narrative the Russian Christians were charged with having committed the most fiendish atrocities on the most enormous scale. A tract of country equal in area to the British Islands and France combined had, it was averred, been the scene of horrors theretofore perpetrated only in times of war. Men had been ruthlessly murdered, tender infants had been dashed on the stones or roasted alive in their own homes, married women had been made the prey of a brutal lust which had in many cases caused their death, and young girls had been violated in sight of their relatives by soldiers who should have been guardians of their honor. Whole streets inhabited by Jews had been razed, and the Jewish quarters of towns had been systematically fired.

In one place, Elizabethgrad [or Elizavetgrad, now Kirovohrad, Ukraine], 30 Jewesses at once had been outraged, two young girls in dread of violation had thrown themselves from the windows, and an old man, who was attempting to save his daughter from a fate worse than death, had been flung from the roof, while 20 soldiers proceeded to work their will on the maiden. This was a specimen of atrocities which had been committed over the whole area. The most atrocious charge of all was that against the Christian women of Russia, who were accused of assisting their friends to violate the Jewesses by holding the victims down, their motive being, as the manifesto suggests, jealousy of the superiority of the Jewesses in dress. The government was charged with criminal sympathy, the local authorities generally with criminal inaction, and some of the troops with active participation.

Goldwin Smith (1823-1910), was a prominent educator, historian and author in Britain, the United States and Canada. A major building on the Cornell University campus bears his name.

The British heart responded to the appeal. Great public meetings were held, at one of which the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a Roman Cardinal, as the representative of religious liberty in general, and especially of opposition to Jew-burning, at his side, denounced the persecuting bigotry of the Russian Christians. Indignant addresses were largely signed. Russia was accused of re-enacting the worst crimes of the Middle Ages. It was taken for granted on all sides that religious fanaticism was the cause of the riots.

Exaggerated Accounts

Russia, as usual, was silent. But the British government directed its consuls at the different points to report upon the facts. The reports composed two Blue Books, in which, as very few probably took the pains to look into them, the unpopular truth lies buried (*Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia*, Nos. 1 and 2, 1882, 1883).

Those who did read them learned, in the first place, that though the riots were deplorable and criminal, the Jewish account was in most cases

exaggerated, and in some to an extravagant extent. The damage to Jewish property at Odessa, rated in the Jewish account at 1,137,381 rubles, or, according to their higher estimates, 3,000,000 rubles, was rated, Consul-General Stanley tells us, by a respectable Jew on the spot at 50,000 rubles, while the Consul-General himself rates it at 20,000. At Elizabethgrad, instead of whole streets being razed to the ground, only one hut had been unroofed. It appeared that few Jews, if any, had been intentionally killed, though some died of injuries received in the riots. There were conflicts between the Jews who defended their houses and the rioters.

The outrages on women, by which public indignation in England had been most fiercely aroused, and of which, according to the Jewish accounts, there had been a frightful number, no less than 30 in one place and 25 in another, appeared, after careful inquiries by the consuls, to have been very rare.

> "... Though the riots were deplorable and criminal, the Jewish account was in most cases exaggerated, and in some to an extravagant extent."

This is the more remarkable because the riots commonly began with the sacking of the gin shops, which were kept by the Jews, so that the passions of the mob must have been inflamed by drink. The horrible charge brought in the Jewish manifesto against the Russian women, of having incited men to outrage Jewesses and held the Jewesses down, is found to be utterly baseless. The charge of roasting children alive also falls to the ground. So does the charge of violating a Jew's wife and then setting fire to his house. The Jewish manifesto states that a Jewish innkeeper was cooped in one of his own barrels and cast into the Dnieper. This turns out to be a fable, the village which was the alleged scene of it being ten miles from the Dnieper and near no other river of consequence.

The Russian peasant, Christian though he may be, is entitled to justice. As a rule, while ignorant and often intemperate, he is good-natured. There was much brutality in his riot, but fiendish atrocity there was not, and if he struck savagely, perhaps he had suffered long. For the belief that the mob was "doing the will of the Tsar," in other words, that the government was at the bottom of the rising, there does not appear to have been a shadow of foundation. The action of the authorities was not in all cases equally prompt. In some cases it was culpably slack. At Warsaw the commandant held back, though as Lord Granville, the British ambassador, bears witness, his motive for hesitation was humanity. But many of the rioters were shot down or bayoneted by the troops, hundreds were flogged, some were imprisoned, and some were sent to Siberia. That any of the military took part in the riots seems to be a fiction. It was not likely that the Russian government, menaced as it is by revolutionary conspiracy, would encourage insurrection.

People of the upper class, who fancied that in the agitation they saw the work of Socialists, though they might dislike the Jews, would hardly sympathize with the rioters. Efforts were made by the government to restore Jewish property, and handsome sums were subscribed for the relief of the sufferers. Yet those who, while they heartily condemned outrage, were willing to accept proof that the Christian men and women of Russia had not behaved like demons, were saluted as modern counterparts of Haman by an eminent Rabbi, who, if the objects of his strictures had cared to retort, might have been asked whether the crucifixion of Haman's ten sons and the slaughter of 75,000 of the enemies of Israel in one day, which, after the lapse of so many centuries, the feast of Purim still joyously commemorates, were not horrors as great as any which have been shown to have actually occurred at Odessa or Elizabethgrad.

Cause of the Troubles

The most important part of the evidence given in the consuls' reports, however, is that which relates to the cause of the troubles. At Warsaw, where the people are Roman Catholics, there appears to have been a certain amount of passive sympathy with the insurgents on religious grounds. But everywhere else the concurrent testimony of the consuls is that the source of the agitation was economical and social, not religious. Bitterness produced by the exactions of the Jew, envy of his wealth, irritation at the display of it in such things as the fine dresses of his women, jealousy of his ascendancy, combined in the lowest of the mob with the love of plunder, were the motives of the people for attacking him, not hatred of his faith. Vice-Consul Wagstaff, who seems to have paid particular attention to the question and made the most careful inquiry, after paying a tribute to the sober, laborious, thrifty character and the superior intelligence of the Jew, and ascribing to these his increasing monopoly of commerce, proceeds (in *Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia*, No. 1, 1882, pp. 11, 12):

> It is chiefly as brokers or middlemen that the Jews are so prominent. Seldom a business transaction of any kind takes place without

their intervention, and from both sides they receive compensation. To enumerate some of their other occupations, constantly denounced by the public: they are the principal dealers in spirits; keepers of "vodka" (drinking) shops and houses of ill-fame; receivers of stolen goods; illegal pawnbrokers and usurers. A branch they also succeed in is as government contractors. With their knowledge of handling money, they collude with unscrupulous officials in defrauding the State to vast amounts annually. In fact, the malpractices of some of the Jewish community have a bad influence on those whom they come in contact with.

It must, however, be said that there are many well educated, highly respectable, and honorable Jews in Russia, but they form a small minority. This class is not treated upon in this paper. They thoroughly condemn the occupations of their lower brethren, and one of the results of the late disturbances is noticed in the movement at present amongst the Jews. They themselves acknowledge the abuses practised by some of their own members, and suggest remedial measures to allay the irritation existing among the working classes.

Another thing the Jews are accused of is that there exists among them a system of boycotting; they use their religion for business purposes. This is expressed by the words "koul," or "kagal," and "kherim." For instance, in Bessarabia, the produce of a vineyard is drawn for by lot, and falls, say to Jabob Levy; the other Jews of the district cannot compete with Levy, who buys the wine at his own price. In the leasing by auction of government and provincial lands, it is invariably a Jew who outbids the others and afterwards re-lets plots to the peasantry at exorbitant prices. Very crying abuses of farming out land have lately come to light and greatly shocked public opinion. Again, where estates are farmed by Jews, it is distressing to see the pitiable condition in which they are handed over on the expiration of the lease. Experience also shows they are very bad colonists.

Their fame as usurers is well known. Given a Jewish recruit with a few rubles' capital, it can be worked out, mathematically, what time it will take him to become the money-lender of his company or regiment, from the drummer to the colonel. Take the case of a peasant: if he once gets into the hands of this class, he is irretrievably lost. The proprietor, in his turn, from a small loan gradually mortgages and eventually loses his estate. A great deal of landed property in south Russia has of late years passed into the hands of the Israelites, but principally into the hands of intelligent and sober peasants.

From first to last, the Jew has his hand in everything. He advances the seed for sowing, which is generally returned in kind — quarters for bushels. As harvest time comes round, money is required to gather in the crops. This is sometimes advanced on hard conditions; but the peasant has no choice; there is no one to lend him money, and it is better to secure something than to lose all. Very often the Jew buys the whole crop as it stands in the field on his own terms. It is thus seen that they themselves do not raise agricultural products, but they reap the benefits of others' labor, and steadily become rich, while proprietors are gradually getting ruined. In their relation to Russia they are compared to parasites that have settled on a plant not vigorous enough to throw them off, and which is being sapped of its vitality.

The peasants, the vice-consul tells us, often say, when they look at the property of a Jew, "That is my blood." In confirmation of his view he cites the list of demands formulated by the peasants and laid before a mixed committee of inquiry into the causes of the disorder. These demands are all economical or social, with the exception of the complaint that Russian girls in Jewish service forget their religion and with it lose their morals. Everything, in short, seems to bear out the statement of the Russian Minister of the Interior, in a manifesto given in the Blue Book, that "the movement had its main cause in circumstances purely economical;" provided that to "economical" we add "social," and include all that is meant by the phrase "hatred of Jewish usurpation," used in another document.

Vice-Consul Harford, at Sebastopol, is in contact with the Jews of the Crimea, who, he says, are of a superior order, while some of them are not Talmudic Jews, but belong to the mild and Scriptural sect of the Karaites (*Correspondence Respecting the Treatment of Jews in Russia*, No. 2, 1883, p. 17) He says that in his quarter all goes well:

> The spirit of antagonism that animates the Russian against the Jew is, in my opinion, in no way to be traced to the difference of creed. In this part of Russia, where we have more denominations of religion than in any other part, I have never, during a residence of 14 years, observed the slightest indication or sectarianism in any class. The peasant, though ignorant and superstitious, is so entirely free from bigotry that even the openly displayed contempt of the fanatical Mohammedan [Mus-

lim] Crim Tartar for the rites and ceremonies of the Russian Church fails to excite in him the slightest feeling of personal animosity; his own feeling with regard to other religions is perfect indifference; he enters a mosque or synagogue just as he would enter a theatre, and regards the ceremony in much the same manner that an English peasant would, neither knowing nor caring to know whether they worshipped God or the moon.

As it is evident from this that race and creed are to the minds of the peasantry of no more consequence than they would be to a Zulu, the only conclusion is that the antipathy is against the usurer, and as civilization can only be expected to influence the rising generation of Russian peasantry, the remedy rests with the Jew, who, if he will not refrain from speculating (in lawless parts of the Empire) on ignorance and drunkenness, must be prepared to defend himself and his property from the certain and natural *result of* such a policy.

An Official Russian View

All this confirms the statement of M. Pierre Botkine, Secretary of the Russian Legation in Washington, who, writing in the *Century* Magazine (Feb. 1893), says:

> Replying to the accusation against Russia in the matter of an alleged religious intolerance, I must first point out a great error I have repeatedly encountered here. The promulgation of the laws and regulations against [that is, enforcing] the laws is being generally ascribed in America to persecution on the part of the Orthodox Church. But the Hebrew question in Russia is neither religious nor political; it is purely an economical and administrative question. The actual meaning of the anti-Semitic measures prescribed by our government is not animosity to the religion of the Jews; neither are those measures a deliberate hunting down of the feeble by the powerful; they are an effort to relieve the Empire of the injurious struggle against those particular traits of Hebrew character that were obstructing the progress of our people along their own line of natural development. It may be said in general, that the anti-Semitic movement in Russia is a demonstration by the non-Hebrew part of the population against tendencies of Hebrews which have characterized them the world over, and to which they adhere in Russia.
>
> The Hebrew, as we know him in Russia, is "the eternal Jew." Without a country of his own, and, as a rule, without any desire to become identified with the country he for the time inherits, he remains, as for hundreds of years he has been, morally unchangeable and without a faculty for adapting himself to sympathy with the people of the race which surrounds him. He is not homogeneous with us in Russia; he does not feel or desire solidarity with us. In Russia he remains a guest only — a guest from long ago, and not an integral part of the community. When these guests without affinity became too many in Russia, when in serious localities their numbers were found injurious to the welfare and the prosperity of our own people as a whole, when they had grown into many wide-spreading ramifications of influence and power, and abused their opportunities as traders with or lenders of money to the poor — when, in a word, they became dangerous and prejudicial to our people — is there anything revolting or surprising in the fact that our government found it necessary to restrict their activity? We did not expel the Jews from the Empire, as is often mistakenly charged, though we did restrict their rights as to localities of domicile and as to kinds of occupations ... Is it just that those who have never had to confront such a situation should blame us for those measures?

Whatever may be said against the restrictions as to residence and occupation laid on the Jews in Russia, from the point of view of policy or humanity, it seems certain that their aim is economical and social, not religious. They fall under the same head with measures taken by the people of the United States to guard their nationality and their character against the invasion of the Chinese. There is apparently no expulsion of Jews from the provinces of Russia which were originally their chief settlements, and which they have hitherto been permitted by law to inhabit. They are only forbidden to spread and extend their financial operations over the rest of the Empire.

The Role of the Russian Orthodox Church

Persecution is not the tendency of the Russian or of the Church to which he belongs. The Eastern Church, while it has been superstitious and somewhat torpid, has been tolerant, and, compared with other orthodox churches, free from the stain of persecution. It has not been actively proselytizing, nor sent forth crusaders, unless the name of crusades can be given to the wars with the Turks, the main motive for which, though the pretext may have been religious, probably has been territorial ambition, and which were certainly not crusades when waged by Catherine, the patroness of Diderot and the cor-

respondent of Voltaire. This is the more remarkable because the Russians had a struggle for their land with the Tartars like that which Spain had with the Moors.

Arthur P. Stanley, D.D., in his *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church* (3rd ed., p. 35) dilates upon this characteristic of the Eastern Christians. He says that "a respectful reverence for every manifestation of religious feeling has withheld them from violent attacks on the rights of conscience and led them to extend a kindly patronage to forms of faith most removed from their own;" and he notices that the great philosophers of antiquity are honored by portraits in their churches as heralds of the gospel.

Sir D. Mackenzie Wallace, M.A., who is the best authority, while he admits the inferiority of the Russian priests in education, testifies (in *Russia*, pp. 58, 59) to their innocence of persecution, saying that "if they have less learning, culture, and refinement than the Roman Catholic priesthood, they have at the same time infinitely less fanaticism, less spiritual pride, and less intolerance towards the adherents of other faiths." The educated classes he represents as generally indifferent to theological questions. The peasantry are superstitious and blindly attached to their own faith, which they identify with their nationality; but they think it natural and right that a man of a different nationality should have a different religion. In Nizhnii-Novgorod, the city of the great fair, the Mahometan [Muslim] Mosque or the Armenian church and the Orthodox cathedral stand side by side. (See Hare's *Studies in Russia*, p. 360.) At one end of a village is the church, at the other the mosque, and the Mahometan spreads his prayer carpet on the deck of a steamer full of Orthodox Russians.

The ecclesiastical constitution of Russia is incompatible with religious equality, and therefore with full religious liberty. The Tsar is practically, though not theoretically, head of the Church as well as of the State; the commander of Holy Russia as a Caliph is the Commander of the Faithful. In the interest rather of national unity than of religious orthodoxy he restrains dissent. But it is against innovation and schism within the pale of the State Church rather than against misbelief that his power has been exerted. Some Tsars, such as Peter the Great and the Tsarina Catherine II, have been Liberals, and have patronized merit without regard to creed. Nicholas was full of orthodox sentiment and in all things a martinet, yet Sir Mackenzie Wallace has a pleasant anecdote of his commending the Jewish sentinel at his door who conscientiously refused to respond to the Tsar's customary salutation on Easter Day. No Tsar, however bigoted, has been guilty of such persecution as Philip II. of Spain, Ferdinand of Austria, or Louis XIV [of France]. Russia has had no Inquisition.

That the Jews have had liberty of worship and education, the existence of 6,319 synagogues and of 77 Jewish schools supported by the [Russian] State, besides 1,165 private and communal schools, seems clearly to prove. (See *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1891, pp. 854-856.) It does not seem to be alleged that any attempt has been made by the government at forcible conversion. Whatever may have been the harshness or even cruelty of the measures which it has taken to confine the Jews to their original districts and prevent their spreading over its dominions, its object appears to have been to protect the people against economical oppression and preserve the national character from being sapped by an alien influence, not to suppress the Jewish religion. The law excluding the Jews from Great Russia in fact belongs to the same category as the law of the United States excluding the Chinese.

"In ordinary times the main causes of the hatred of the Jews among the common people appear to have been usury and a social arrogance ..."

Jews in the Roman Empire

That Christian fanaticism at all events was not the sole source of the unpopularity of the Jews might have been inferred from the fact that the relation was no better between the Jew and the heathen races during the period of declining polytheism, when religious indifference prevailed and beneath the vast dome of the Roman Empire the religions of many nations slept and moldered side by side. Gibbon, well qualified to speak, for he was himself a citizen of the Roman Empire in sentiment, after narrating the massacres committed by the Jews on the Gentiles in Africa and Cyprus, has expressed in flamboyant phrase the hatred of the Roman world for the Jews, whom he designates as the "implacable enemies, not only of the Roman government but of human kind." (Edward Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. xiv.)

Tacitus speaks of the Jews as enemies of all races but their own (*adversus omnes alios hostile odium*, in *Histories*, V, v), and Juvenal, in a well-known passage, speaks of them as people who would not show a wayfarer his road or guide the thirsty to a spring if he were not of their own faith. Those who maintain that there is nothing in the character, hab-

its, or disposition of the Jew to provoke antipathy have to bring the charge of fanatical prejudice not only against the Russians or against Christendom, but against mankind.

Central Europe

In Germany, in Austria, in Roumania, in all the countries of Europe where this deplorable contest of races is going on, the cause of quarrel appears to be fundamentally the same. It appears to be economical and social, not religious, or religious only in a secondary degree. Mr. S. Baring-Gould, M.A. (in *Germany, Present and Past*, Vol. I, pp. 114, 127), tells us that in Germany "there is scarce a village without some Jews in it, who do not cultivate land themselves, but lie in wait like spiders for the failing Bauer." A German who knew the peasantry well said to Mr. Gould that "he doubted whether there were a happier set of people under the sun;" but he added, after a pause, "so long as they are out of the clutch of the Jew."

Of the German, as well as of the Russian, it may be said that he is not a religious persecutor. If persecution of a sanguinary or atrocious kind has sullied his annals, the arm of it was the house of Austria, with its Spanish connection, and the head was the world-roving Jesuit. In the case of Hungary, Mr. John Paget, who is a Liberal and advocates a Liberal policy towards the Jews, says (in *Hungary and Translyvania*, Vol. I, p. 136): "The Jew is no less active in profiting by the vices and necessities of the peasant than by those of the noble. As sure as he gains a settlement in a village the peasantry become poor." "In Austrian Poland," says a *Times* reviewer, "the worst of the peasant's sluggish content is that it has given him over to the exactions of the Jews." "The Jews," he adds, "are in fact the lords of the country." They are lords not less alien to the people than the Norman was to the Saxon, and perhaps not always more merciful, though in their hands is the writ of ejection instead of the conqueror's sword.

If we cross the Mediterranean the same thing meets us. In Joseph Thomson's *Travels in the Atlas and Southern Morocco* (pp. 418, 419) we read:

> As money-lenders the Jews are as maggots and parasites, aggravating and feeding on the diseases of the land. I do not know, for my part, which exercises the greatest tyranny and oppression, the Sultan or the Jew — the one the embodiment of the foulest misgovernment, the other the essence of a dozen Shylocks, demanding, ay, and getting, not only his pound of flesh, but also the blood and nerves. By his outrageous exactions the Sultan drives the Moor into the hands of the Jew, who affords him a temporary relief by lending him the necessary money on incredibly exorbitant terms. Once in the money-lender's clutches, he rarely escapes till he is squeezed dry, when he is either thrown aside, crushed and ruined, or cast into a dungeon, where, fettered and starved, he is probably left to die a slow and horrible death.
>
> To the position of the Jews in Morocco it would be difficult to find a parallel. Here we have a people alien, despised, and hated, actually living in the country under immeasurably better conditions than the dominant race, while they suck, and are assisted to suck, the very lifeblood of their hosts. The aim of every Jew is to toil not, neither to spin, save the coils which as money-lender he may weave for the entanglement of his necessitous victims.

In the United States

Even if we cross the Atlantic we find the same phenomenon. Mr. Frederick Law Olmstead, in his *Journeys and Explorations in the Cotton Kingdom* (2nd ed., pp. 252, 253), says:

> A swarm of Jews has within the last ten years settled in nearly every Southern town, many of them men of no character, opening cheap clothing and trinket shops, ruining or driving out of business many of the old retailers, and engaging in an unlawful trade with the simple negroes, which is found very profitable.

And again (pp. 321, 322):

> If his [the planter's] first crop proves a bad one he must borrow money of the Jews at New Orleans to pay his first note. They will sell him this on the best terms they can, often at not less than 25 per cent per annum.

In *Across the Plains* (p. 100), Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson says of the Jews in San Francisco:

> Jew storekeepers have already learned the advantage to be gained from this [unlimited credit]; they lead on the farmer into irretrievable indebtedness, and keep him ever after as their bond-slave hopelessly grinding in the mill. So the whirligig of time brings in its revenges, and except that the Jew knows better than to foreclose, you may see Americans bound in the same chains with which they themselves had formerly bound the Mexicans.

These passages were not intended by the writers, nor are they here cited, as general pictures of

the Jews, or as pictures of Jews exclusively. In the last, American sharp practice is included. The passages are cited as indications of the real source of the antagonism tending to show that it is economical not religious.

A Dawning Awareness

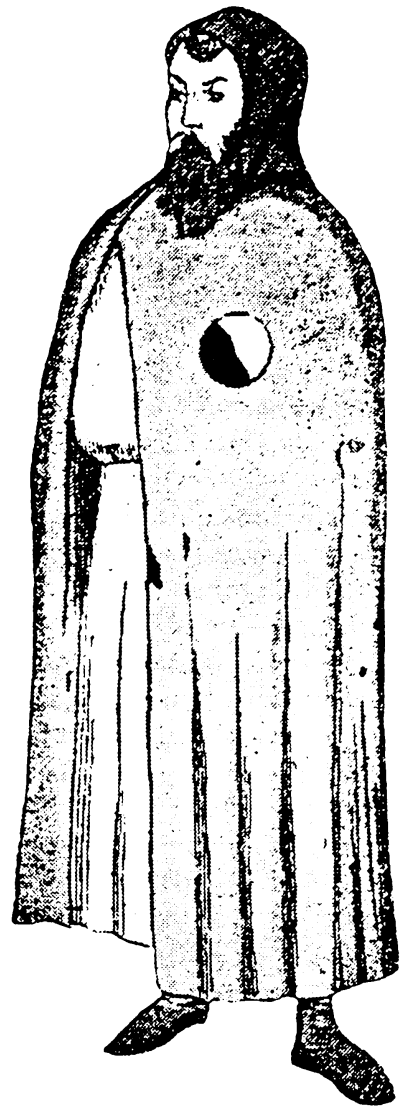
Light dawned on the writer's mind touching this question when he had been listening with sympathy to speeches in the British House of Commons on the anti-Semitic movement in Roumania, where, as in Russia, the number of Jews is particularly large and the feeling against them is proportionately intense. The Jewish member who appealed to the government on the subject, and the Minister who rose in response to the appeal, had both of them assumed that it was a case of religious persecution, and the Minister especially had dwelt on the mischievous influence of ecclesiastics; with how little justice, so far as the priests of the Eastern Church are concerned, we have already seen.

"Although the lot of a Jew in the Middle Ages was hard in itself, it was perhaps not so hard compared with that of other classes, notably with that of the serf ..."

The debate over, the writer was accosted by his friend, the late Dr. Humphry Sandwith, distinguished for his share in the defense of Kars [in Northeast Turkey] against the Russians, who knew the Danubian Principalities well. Dr. Sandwith said that the speakers had been entirely mistaken; that religion was not the motive of the agitation; that neither the people nor their priests were given to persecution; that the government had granted aid to a synagogue; but that Jewish usurers got the simple-minded peasants into their toils and sold them out of their homesteads till the peasants would bear it no longer, and an outbreak ensued. Dr. Sandwith, being a thorough-going Liberal, would have been the last man to palliate religious persecution.

Medieval Religious Sensitivities

It is doubtful whether, even in the Middle Ages, the quarrel was not less religious and more economical or social than is supposed. That was the age of religious intolerance; Christian heretics, such as the Albigenses, were persecuted with fully as much cruelty as the Jews. Jews who had ventured to settle in the Catholic communities for the sake of gain, braved the same sort of peril which would have been



For several centuries, Jews throughout Europe were required to wear distinctive clothing, hats or badges. This drawing from a 14th-century French miniature shows a Jew wearing the obligatory red and white circular badge.

braved by an enterprising trader who had thrust himself into Japan during its close period. But as a rule, though they were hated, they were not persecuted; they were tolerated and allowed to build their synagogues and worship God in their own way. They were regarded, not like heretics, as religious traitors, but as religious aliens. Their religious blindness, as well as their penal homelessness, was viewed as the act of God. They were privileged in misbelief.

Aquinas expressly lays it down that they are to be tolerated as a useful testimony borne, though by adversaries, to the truth of Christianity (*Summa Theologica, Secunda Secundae*, Quaest. X, Art. xi). It is not true that the great Doctor of the Middle Ages sanctions the forcible conversion of the children of Jews. He raises the question and decides it in the negative (*Summa Theologica, Secunda Secundae*, Art. xii). An argument stated by him only to be set aside has been taken for his conclusion. In

the *Corpus Juris Canoniei* it is laid down that Jews shall not be baptized against their will or inclination, since enforced baptism does not make a Christian. Their persons are to be secure from violence, their graves from spoliation, their customary rights from invasion, their festivals from interruption, their servants from abduction, their cemeteries from profanation (*Decret. Greg.*, Lib. V, Tit. vi).

During the Crusades

By the kings, and notably by the Angevin [Plantagenet] kings of England, the Jews were protected as the agents of royal extortion, sucking by usury the money from the people which was afterwards squeezed out of the usurer by the king. Of the common people it is not, so far as we can see, the tendency to persecute on account of religion, however superstitious they may be. It is rather by the possessors of ecclesiastical power and wealth, by Archbishops of Toledo and Prince Bishops of Germany, whom dissent threatens with dispossession, or by kings like Philip II and Louis XIV, under priestly influence, that the engines of persecution are set at work. At the time of the Crusades, Christian fanat-

"The slave trade ... in the early Middle Ages was in Jewish hands ..."

icism being excited to frenzy, there were dreadful massacres of Jews, and forced conversions, though no reliance can be placed on the figures of medieval chroniclers, who set down at random 20,000 victims slain, or 200,000 forced conversions.

The Jew at that time was odious not only as a misbeliever in the midst of the Christian camp, whose presence would turn from it the countenance of God, but as a suspected friend and ally at heart of the Oriental power. The Jews must have foreseen the storm, and might have escaped by flight, but they were perhaps tempted by the vast harvest afforded them in the general sale of possessions by the Crusaders to buy equipments, while by that traffic their unpopularity was increased. In ordinary times the main causes of the hatred of the Jews among the common people appear to have been usury and a social arrogance, which was particularly galling on the part of the alien and the enemy of Christ. In the riots the people made for the place in which the Jewish bonds were kept. At York, the scene of the worst anti-Jewish riot in England, the chronicler tells us there were two Jews, Benedict and Joce, who had built in the middle of the city houses like palaces, where they dwelt like princes of their own people and tyrants of the Christians, keeping almost royal state, and exercising harsh tyranny against those whom they oppressed with their usuries. The usury was grinding and ruthless.

In the Chronicle of Joceline de Brakelond we see how rapidly a debt of 27 pounds, owed to a Jew, grew to 880. Jews at Oxford were forbidden by edict to take more than 43 per cent. So it was generally. Political economy will say that this was justifiable, in the circumstances perhaps useful, and the penalty due to the Christian superstition which made the lending of money at interest an unholy and therefore a perilous trade. Nevertheless, it was hateful, at least sure to engender hate. The Lombards and Cahorsins, who, when the Jews were for a time driven from the field, took up the business, incurred the same hatred, though in their case there was no religious or social feeling to aggravate the unpopularity of the trade. A Spanish Chancellor describes the Jews as the bloodsuckers of the afflicted people, as men who exact fifty per cent, eighty, a hundred, and through whom the land is desolate, their hard hearts being callous to tears and groans, and their ears deaf to petitions for delay. (See *The History of the Jews from the War with Rome to the Present Time*, by Rev. H. C. Adams, M.A., p. 245) ...

Usury Double Standard and Ostenatious Wealth

The law of the Jews themselves, be it observed, proscribes usury in the case of a tribal brother, permitting it in the case of a stranger. "Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother; usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury: unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thine hand to in the land whither thou goest to possess it" (Deuteronomy 23: 19, 20). The Jew, then, on the subject of usury is not less superstitious than the Christian. In truth the Christian superstition may be said to have been derived from the Jewish law. In practising usury on the Christians among whom he dwelt the Jew showed that he regarded them not as brethren but as strangers.

The Jews in the Middle Ages after all were not so maltreated as to prevent them from amassing what was for that time enormous wealth. Of this they appear in those days, as they sometimes do in these, to have made ostentatious and, in the eyes of natives and Christians, especially if they had been victims of extortion, offensive use. A Cortes in Portugal, in 1481, complained of Jewish luxury and display, of Jews who rode splendidly caparisoned [ornamentally covered] horses, wore silk doublets

[ornamented jackets], carried jewel-hilted swords, and entered churches where they mocked the worship. Jewish haughtiness seems sometimes even to have indulged in insults to the popular religion. At Oxford it mocks the miracles of St. Frydeswide before her votaries, assaults a religious procession, and tramples on the cross. At Lynn the Jews attack a church to drag out a convert from Judaism to Christianity, for whose blood they thirsted, and the people of the place are half afraid to resist them, knowing that they are protected by the king.

Besides their usury, the Jews were suspected of clipping the coin. Their function as the middlemen of royal rapacity must have been most odious, not least when they handled for the king Church estates which he had wrongfully taken into his hands. In expelling them from England, Edward I, the best of kings, no doubt thought that he was doing a good deed, while his people were unquestionably grateful. The worthy Abbot Samson, of St. Edmondbury, in the same way earned the gratitude of the people of that place by ridding it of the Jews. The clearest, as well as the most terrible, case of persecution of the Jews for religion was in Spain, and there, it must be remembered, when the Jew was burned, the Christian suspected of heresy was burned at his side.

Jew and Muslim

Even in Spain it is not easy to say how much was hatred of religion, how much was hatred of race. For centuries the Spanish Christians had struggled for the land with Islam, and the history of Spain had been one long Crusade. The Jew was identified with Islam. A Jewish writer, Lady Magnus, in her history of her race (*About the Jews Since Bible Times*, pp. 195-197), says:

> Both in the East and in the West the rise of Mohammedanism [Islam] was, in truth, as the dawn of a new day to the despised and dispersed Jews. If we except that one bitter quarrel between the earliest followers of the Prophet and the Jews of Arabia — and that, we must note, was no organized or systematic persecution, but rather an ebullition of anger from an ardent enthusiast at his first unexpected rebuff — we shall find that Judaism had much reason to rejoice at the rapid spread of Mohammedanism. Monotheists, like the Jews, abhorring like them all forms of image worship, worshipping in simple fashion their one God Allah, observing dietary laws like those of Moses, the Mohammedans both in their faith and in their practice naturally found more grounds for agreement with Jewish doctrine than with the Christian dogma of a complex Godhead, or with the undeveloped aspirations of the heathen. And besides some identity of principle and of race between the Mohammedan and the Jew there soon discovered itself a certain hardly definable kinship of habit and custom — a sort of sympathy, in fact, which is often more effectual than even more important causes in promoting friendly relations either nationally or individually. Then, also, there was the similarity of language; for Arabic, like Hebrew, belongs to what is called the Semitic group ...
>
> Nearly a century of experience of the political and social results of the Mohammedan conquests most, inevitably, have made the year 710 stand out to the Jews of that time as the beginning of a grand new era in their history. Centuries of cruelty had made the wise loyal counsel of Jeremiah to "pray for the peace of the land whither ye are led captive; its peace shall be your peace also," a hard task for the most loyal of consciences; and in that early year of the eighth century, when Spain was added to the list of the Mohammedan victories, and the triumphant flag of the Crescent was hoisted on tower and citadel, the liberty of conscience which it practically proclaimed must have been in the widest sense a cause for national rejoicing to the Jews.

The kindness of the Mahometan [Muslim] to the Jew may here be overrated, but the sympathy between Judaism and Islam cannot be questioned, and it meant common antipathy to Christendom, which Christendom could not fail to reciprocate, especially in its crusading mood. We sit at ease and sneer at the fanaticism of the Crusaders. But some strong motive was needed to make men leave their homes and their wives and go to die as the vanguard of Christendom on Syrian battlefields. Let us not forget that the question whether Christianity and Christian civilization or Islam, with its despotism and its harem, should reign in Europe came to be decided, not without long and perilous debate, so near the heart of Christendom as the plain of Tours. The Jews of Southern France, like those of Spain, were suspected of inviting the invaders. If they did they were not without excuse. But their excuse could hardly be expected to pass muster with Charles Martel.

From religious intolerance in the Dark Ages, or long after the end of the Dark Ages, nobody was free. The Jew was not. He had striven as long as he had a chance, by all means in his power, unscrupulously using the Roman or the Persian as his instruments, to crush Christianity. His own law punished blasphemy with death and bade the worshipper of Jeho-

In spite of restrictions, many Jews acquired great wealth and power during the Middle Ages. This contemporary drawing shows Jossl of Rosheim (1480-1554), a prominent "court Jew," financier to Emperor Charles V, and a leader of Germany's Jewish community. Wearing the obligatory Jewish badge, he holds a Jewish religious book in one hand and a money bag in the other.

vah slaughter everything that breathed in a captured city of the heathen. [Among many examples, see: Numbers 21: 34-35; Deuteronomy 2:34, 20: 16-17; Joshua 11: 20-22; I Samuel 15: 3, 8.] It was hence, in fact, that the Inquisitor partly drew his inspiration. Medieval darkness had passed away when Judaism sought the life of Spinoza and scourged Uriel Acosta in the synagogue.

Jews and Serfs in Medieval England

Although the lot of a Jew in the Middle Ages was hard in itself, it was perhaps not so hard compared with that of other classes, notably with that of the serf, as the perpetual addition of piteous epithets to his name by common writers might lead us to suppose. *Ivanhoe* is not history; Freeman's works are. In *The Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry the First* (Vol. I, p. 160), Edward A. Freeman says:

> In the wake of the conqueror the Jews of Rouen found their way to London, and before long we find settlements of the Hebrew race in the chief cities and boroughs of England: at York, Winchester, Lincoln, Bristol, Oxford, and even at the gate of the Abbot of St. Edmonds and St. Albans. They came as the king's special men, or more truly as his special chattels, strangers alike to the Church and the commonwealth, but strong in the protection of a master who commonly found it his interest to protect them against all others.
>
> Hated, feared, and loathed, but far too deeply feared to be scorned or oppressed, they stalked defiantly among the people of the land, on whose wants they throve, safe from harm or insult, save now and then, when popular wrath burst all bounds, when their proud mansions and fortified quarters could shelter them no longer from raging crowds who were eager to wash out their debts in the blood of their creditors. The romantic picture of the despised, trembling Jew, cringing before every Christian whom he meets, is, in any age of English history, simply a romantic picture.

The Jews found it worth their while to buy their way back into lands from which they had been banished, and their existence in which *is pictured* by historians as a hell. If they were heavily taxed and sometimes pillaged, they were exempted frown the most grievous of all taxes, service in war. Their badge, though a stigma, was also a protection, since it marked them as serfs of the king. Even the Ghetto, where there was one, would be comparatively a small grievance when nationalities, crafts, and family clans had their special quarters in cities. Any immigrant would have been less at home in the closely organized communities of feudalism and Catholicism than in the loose society of the Roman Empire. But the Jew was there by his own choice. The tenure of land in a feudal realm, being military, land could hardly be held by a Jew. But Jews were not forbidden by law to hold land in England till late in the reign of Henry III [1216-1272], when it was found that they were getting estates into their hands by mortgage, which would have been ruinous to the feudal system.

A community has a right to defend its territory and its national integrity against an invader, whether his weapon be the sword or foreclosure. In the territories of the Italian Republics the Jews might, so far as we see, have bought land and taken to farming had they pleased. But before this they had thoroughly taken to trade. Under the filling Empire they were the great slave traders, buying captives from barbarian invaders and probably acting as general brokers of spoils at the same time. They entered England in the train of the Norman conqueror. There was, no doubt, a perpetual strug-

gle between their craft and the brute force of the feudal populations. But what moral prerogative has craft over force?

Mr. Arnold White tells the Russians that, if they would let Jewish intelligence have free course, Jews would soon fill all high employments and places of power to the exclusion of the natives, who now hold them. Russians are bidden to acquiesce and rather to rejoice in this by philosophers, who would perhaps not relish the cup if it were commended to their own lips. The law of evolution, it is said, prescribes the survival of the fittest. To which the Russian boor may reply, that if his force beats the fine intelligence of the Jew the fittest will survive and the law of evolution will be fulfilled. It was force rather than fine intelligence which decided on the field of Zama that the Latin, not the Semite, should rule the ancient and mold the modern world.

Religious antipathy, no doubt, has always added and continues to add bitterness to the social quarrel. Among ignorant peasants it still takes grotesque, sometimes hideous, shapes, such as the cruel fancy that the Jews sacrifice Christian children and spread pestilence. The Jew has always been felt to be a power of evil, and the peasant imagination lends to the power of evil horns and hoofs. But even the peasant imagination does not lend horns and hoofs to any power which is felt to be harmless, much less to one which has always been beneficent, as we are asked to believe that the Jews have been. The people are not everywhere fools or fiends. Let it be remembered, too, that the Jewish religion is not merely a religion of peculiar opinion. It is a religion of social exclusiveness, of arrogated superiority to Gentiles, and treatment of them as unclean, of the Pentateuch with its Chosen People, and of the feast of Purim. Milman thinks it possible that in the offensive celebration of the feast of Purim some of the calumnies about the Jews may have had their source.

People of a higher class, whom Jewish usury does not touch, object to Judaism on higher grounds. They object to it because it is at variance with the unity of the nation and threatens to eat out the core of nationality. Admitting the keenness of Jewish intelligence, they say that intelligence is not always beneficent, nor is submission to it always a matter of duty, especially when its ascendancy is gained by such means as the dexterous appropriation of the circulating medium, and when it is, as they believe, the result not of individual effort in a fair field, but of the collective effort of a united, though scattered race, aided by a press in Jewish hands. They demur to having the high places of their community monopolized, as Mr. Arnold White says they might be in Russia, by unsympathetic aliens turning the rest of the nation into hewers of wood and drawers of water. This feeling, if it is selfish, is natural, and should be charitably viewed by those who are free from the danger.

Some of the opposition to Jewish ascendancy arises from dread of materialism, the triumph of which over the spiritual character and aspirations of Christian communities would, it is apprehended, follow the victory of the Jew, an impersonation of the power of wealth. Among the anti-Semites are Christian Socialists seeking the liberation of the laboring class from the grasp of usury and the money power. [In Germany] Herr [Adolf] Stoecker [1835-1909] belongs, it seems, to this sect, and far from being an enemy of the Jewish people, is a devout believer in the Old Testament. To be opposed on social or patriotic ground to Judaism as a system is not to be a hater of the Jews, any more than to be opposed to Islam or Buddhism as a system is to be a hater of the Mahometan or the Buddhist.

Medieval Myths

The impression prevails that Judaism during the Middle Ages was a civilizing power, in fact the great civilizing power, while its beneficent action was repressed by a barbarous Christendom. The leading shoot of civilization, both material and intellectual, was republican Italy, where the Jews, though they were not persecuted, never played a leading part. You may read through Sismondi's *History* [*of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages*] almost without being made aware of their existence. Intellectually superior in a certain sense no doubt they were; their wealth exempted them from manual labor, and gave them an advantage, as it does now, in the race of intelligence. They were also practically exempted from military service. They preserved Hebrew and Oriental learning, and to them Europe owed the transmission of the works of Aristotle through Arabic translations. But in their medieval roll of celebrated names the great majority are those of Talmudists or Cabalists. The most illustrious is that of Maimonides, whose influence on the progress of humanity surely was not very great, albeit he was let and hindered only by the narrow and jealous orthodoxy of his own people. Jews were in request as physicians, though they seem to have drawn their knowledge from the Arabians. They had much to do with the foundation of the medical school of Montpellier; the origin of that at Salerno was Benedictine. But if they founded a medical science, what became of the medical science which they founded? At the close of the Middle Ages there was none. A Jewish physician, no doubt the most eminent of his class, is called in by Innocent VIII. His treatment is transfusion of blood. He kills three boys in the process and then runs away.

Of the money trade the Jews were generally the

masters, though in Italy that, too, was in the hands of native houses, such as the Medici, Bardi, and Peruzzi, while at a later period the Fuggers of Augsburg were the Rothschilds of Germany. But the Jews never were the masters of the grand commerce or of that maritime enterprise in which the Middle Ages gloriously closed. Rosseeuw Saint-Hilaire has observed in his history of Spain that their addiction was to petty trade. Showing abundant sympathy for Jewish wrongs, he finds himself compelled to contrast the "narrowness and rapacity" of their commerce with the boldness and grandeur of Arab enterprise (*Histoire d'Espagne*, Vol. III, p. 147). The slave trade, which in the early Middle Ages was in Jewish hands, was not then the reproach that it is now, yet it never was a noble or a beneficent trade.

Spain is supposed to have owed her fall to the expulsion of the Jews, but the acme of her greatness came after their expulsion; and her fall was due to despotism, civil and religious, to her false commercial system, to the diversion of her energy from industry to gold-seeking and conquest, and not least to the overgrown and heterogeneous empire which was the supposed foundation of her grandeur. England, in the period between the expulsion of the Jews under Edward I [in 1290] and their readmission under Cromwell [in 1656], became a commercial nation and a famous naval power; and the greatness thus achieved was English, not Gibeonite, as it would have been under Jewish ascendancy; it was part of the fullness of national life, and was prolific not only of Whittingtons and Drakes, but of Shakespeares and Bacons. As financiers it is likely that the Jews were useful in advancing money for great works; they also furnished money for enterprises such as Strongbow's expedition to Ireland. But the assertion, often repeated, that they provided the means for building the churches, abbeys, and colleges of England must be qualified in face of the fact that the greater part of the edifices is of dates subsequent to the expulsion of the Jews. Salisbury Cathedral was built before the expulsion. But we happen to know that the 40,000 marks which it cost were supplied by contributions from the Prebendaries, collections from different dioceses, and grants from Alicia de Bruere and other benefactors. (See Murray's *Handbook of the Cathedrals of England*, Southern Div., Part I, p. 94).

No financial or material advantage at all events could have made up to a nation for the ascendancy of a tribe of alien usurers.

Judaism is now the great financial power of Europe, that is, it is the greatest power of all. It is no longer necessary, out of pity for it, to falsify history, and traduce Christendom.

"Spain is supposed to have owed her fall to the expulsion of the Jews, but the acme of her greatness came after their expulsion ... England, in the period between the expulsion of the Jews under Edward I [in 1290] and their readmission under Cromwell [in 1656], became a commercial nation and a famous naval power ..."

The Talmud

Of the two works on which, during the Middle Ages, Jewish intellect was chiefly employed, the Cabbala [or Kabbalah] is on all hands allowed to be mystical nonsense. Of the Talmud, Dr. Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., assuredly no Jew-baiter, in his introductory Preface to a volume of selections from it (*A Talmudic Miscellany*. Compiled and translated by Paul Isaac Hershon), says:

> Wisdom there is in the Talmud, and eloquence and high morality; of this the reader may learn something even in the small compass of the following pages. How could it be otherwise when we bear in mind that the Talmud fills twelve large folio volumes, and represents the main literature of a nation during several hundred years? But yet I venture to say that it would be impossible to find less wisdom, less eloquence, and less high morality, imbedded in a vaster bulk of what is utterly valueless to mankind — to say nothing of those parts of it which are indelicate and even obscene — in any other national literature of the same extent. And even of the valuable residuum of true and holy thoughts, I doubt whether there is even one which had not long been anticipated, and which is not found more nobly set forth in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

This judgment is fully borne out by the selections which follow, and which are made by Mr. Hershon, a known Hebrew scholar, on an impartial principle. It is supported by other independent critics, such as Thirlwall, who spoke of the Talmud as an ocean of nonsense. The writer will not presume to speak, though he looks back upon the perusal of a Latin translation of the Mishna as one of the least pleasant labors of a student's life. Dr. Deutsch's counterfeit presentment of the Talmud, to which Dr. Farrar refers, is a standing caution. In every page of Mr. Hershon's *Talmudic Miscellany* we have such

things as this:

> "There were two things which God first thought of creating on the eve of the Sabbath, which, however, were not created till after the Sabbath had closed. The first was fire, which Adam by divine suggestion drew forth by striking together two stones; and the second was the mule, produced by the crossing of two different animals." — *P'sachim*, fol. 54, col 1.
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> "The Rabbis have taught that there are three reasons why a person should not enter a ruin: 1. Because he may be suspected of evil intent; 2. Because the walls might tumble upon him; 3. And because of evil spirits that frequent such places." — *Berachoth*, fol. 3, col 1.
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> "The stone which Og, King of Bashan, meant to throw upon Israel is the subject of a tradition delivered on Sinai. 'The camp of Israel I see,' he said, 'extends three miles; I shall therefore go and root up a mountain three miles in extent and throw it upon them.' So off he went, and finding such a mountain, raised it on his head, but the Holy One — blessed be He! — sent an army of ants against him, which so bored the mountain over his head that it slipped down upon his shoulders, from which he could not lift it, because his teeth, protruding, had riveted it upon him." — *Berachoth*, fol. 54, col. 2.
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> "Three things are said respecting the fingernails: He who trims his nails and buries the parings is a pious man; he who burns these is a righteous man; but he who throws them away is a wicked man, for mischance might follow, should a female step over them." — *Moed Katan*, fol. 18, col 1.

Contra hebreos retinentes li
bros in quibus aliquid con
tra fidem catholicam no
tetur vel scribatur.
Romæ apud Antonium Bladum Impressorem Cameralem.

In 1554 Pope Julius III issued this edict ordering Jews to surrender all copies of the Talmud. Because of its viciously anti-Christian content, this authority of Jewish religious law has been repeatedly banned or suppressed by Church officials. On papal order, 24 wagonloads of Talmudic writings were confiscated and publicly burned in Paris in 1242. Similar public burnings were carried out in Rome and other Italian cities in 1553. In 1757 nearly a thousand copies were publicly burned in Poland.

More Nonsense

Abraham's height, according to the Talmudists, was that of 74 men put together. His food, his dress, and his strength were those of 74 men. He built for the abode of his 17 children by Keturah, an iron city, the walls whereof were so lofty that the sun never penetrated them. He gave them a bowl full of precious stones, the brilliancy of which supplied them with light in the absence of the sun. He had a precious stone suspended from his neck, upon which every sick person who gazed was healed of his disease, and when he died God hung up the stone on the sphere of the sun. Before his time there was no such thing as a beard; but as many mistook Abraham and Isaac for each other, Abraham prayed to God for a beard to distinguish him, and it was granted him. Every one has a thousand malignant spirits at his left side, and ten thousand at his right. The crowding at the schools is caused by their pushing in. If one would discover traces of their presence, he has only to sift some ashes on the floor at his bedside, and next morning he will see the footmarks as of fowls. If he would see the demons themselves, he must burn to ashes the afterbirth of a first-born black kitten, the offspring of a first-born black cat, put some of the ashes into his eyes, and he will not fail to see the demons. The medical and physical apophthegms of the Talmud do not give much evidence of science: "dropsy is a sign of sin, jaundice of hatred without a cause, and quinsy of slander"; "six things possess medicinal virtue: cabbage, lungwort, beet-root, water, certain parts of the offal of

animals, and, in the opinion of some, little fishes."

Mr. Hershon's collection abounds with nonsense on this subject as absurd as anything in medieval quackery. Other features of the work are an Oriental indelicacy, and a pride of Rabbinical learning which treats illiteracy as almost criminal, looking down upon the illiterate as an American would look down upon the Negro.

The most superstitious of Christian writings in the Dark Ages could not be more tainted with demonology and witchcraft, nor in any monkish chronicle do we find fables so gross. Few would set the Talmud, as presented by Mr. Hershon, or the Cabbala, above the works of such writers as Anselm, Aquinas, the author of *Imitatio Christi*, the authors of hymns and liturgical compositions of the Christian Middle Ages; or, in the department of science, above the works of Roger Bacon.

We have been speaking, be it observed, of the Talmud as the work and monument of Jewish intelligence and morality in the Dark Ages; we have not been speaking of the intelligence or morality of the Jews of the present day. The charge is constantly

"... The Jewish religion is not merely a religion of peculiar opinion. It is a religion of social exclusiveness, of arrogated superiority to Gentiles ..."

brought against Christendom of having by its barbarous bigotry repressed the beneficent action of Jewish intellect, which would otherwise have enlightened and civilized the world. The answer is apparently found in the Cabbala and the Talmud. By the account of the Jewish historian [Heinrich] Graetz, it would seem that Rabbinical orthodoxy was not less opposed than Papal orthodoxy to science, philosophy, and culture. We are led to believe that, at last, Talmudic bigotry and obscurantism had prevailed, when Judaism was rescued by Moses Mendelssohn, who himself owed his emancipation to Lessing. Nathan the Wise is a philosopher and philanthropist of the eighteenth century, not a Talmudic Jew.

A Tribal Morality

Still more notable, however, than the absurdities are the passages indicative of a tribal morality which prescribes one mode of dealing with those who are, and another mode of dealing with those who are not, of the tribe.

> "If the ox of an Israelite bruise the ox of a Gentile, the Israelite is exempt from paying damages; but should the ox of a Gentile bruise the ox of an Israelite, the Gentile is bound to recompense him in full." — *Bava Kama*, fol. 38, col. 1.
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> "When an Israelite and a Gentile have a lawsuit before thee, if thou canst, acquit the former according to the laws of Israel, and tell the latter such is our law; if thou canst get him off in accordance with Gentile law, do so, and say to the plaintiff such is your law; but if he cannot be acquitted according to either law, then bring forward adroit pretexts and secure his acquittal. These are the words of the Rabbi Ishmael. Rabbi Akiva says, 'No false pretext should be brought forward, because, if found out, the name of God would be blasphemed; but if there be no fear of that, then it may be adduced'." — *Bava Kama*, fol. 113, col. 1.
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> "If one finds lost property in a locality where a majority are Israelites, he is bound to proclaim it; but he is not bound to do so if the majority be Gentiles." — *Bava Metzia*, fol. 24, col. 1.
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> "Rabbi Shemuel says advantage may be taken of the mistakes of a Gentile. He once bought a gold plate as a copper of a Gentile for four zouzim, and then cheated him out of one zouz into the bargain. Rav Cahana purchased a hundred and twenty vessels of wine from a Gentile for a hundred zouzim, and swindled him in the payment out of one of the hundred, and that while the Gentile assured him that he confidently trusted to his honesty. Rava once went parts with a Gentile and bought a tree which was cut up into logs. This done, he bade his servant go and pick him out the largest logs, but to be sure to take no more than the proper number, because the Gentile knew how many there were. As Rav Aghi was walking abroad one day he saw some grapes growing in a roadside vineyard, and sent his servant to see whom they belonged to. 'If they belong to a Gentile,' he said, 'bring some here to me; but if they belong to an Israelite, do not meddle with them.' The owner, who happened to be in the vineyard, overheard the Rabbi's order and called out, 'What! is it lawful to rob a Gentile?' 'Oh, no,' said the Rabbi evasively; 'a Gentile might sell, but an Israelite would not'." — *Bava Kama*, fol. 118, col. 2.

'Unclean' Gentiles

The principle which animates these passages appears in a milder form in the Hebrew Scriptures, which license perpetual bondage as well as the taking of interest in the case of a Gentile, not in that of a Hebrew. Such a principle, however mildly expressed, was too likely to be extended in practice. Dr. Edersheim, the author of *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, is favorable enough on religious grounds to the Jews; but in describing their relations to the Gentiles, as regulated by the Talmud, he says (Vol. I, pp. 90, 91):

> To begin with, every Gentile child, so soon as born, was to be regarded as unclean. Those who actually worshipped mountains, hills, bushes, etc. — in short, gross idolaters — should be cut down with the sword. But as it was impossible to exterminate heathenism, Rabbinical legislation kept certain definite objects in view, which may be thus summarized: To prevent Jews from being inadvertently led into idolatry; to avoid all participation in idolatry; not to do anything which might aid the heathen in their worship; and, beyond all this, not to give pleasure, or even help, to heathens. The latter involved a most dangerous principle, capable of almost indefinite application by fanaticism. Even the Mishna goes so far as to forbid aid to a mother in the hour of her need, or nourishment to her babe, in order not to bring up a child for idolatry!
>
> But this is not all. Heathens were, indeed, not to be precipitated into danger, but yet not to be delivered from it. Indeed, an isolated teacher ventures even upon this statement: 'The best among the Gentiles, kill; the best among serpents, crush its head.' Even more terrible was the fanaticism which directed that heretics, traitors, and those who had left the Jewish faith should be thrown into actual danger, and, if they were in such, all means for their escape removed. No intercourse of any kind was to be had with such — not even to invoke their medical aid in case of danger to life, since it was deemed that he who had to do with heretics was in imminent peril of becoming one himself, and that, if a heretic returned to the true faith, he should die at once — partly, probably, to expiate his guilt, and partly from fear of relapse.

Contempt for Humanity

Not less significant are the Talmudic expressions of tribal pride and contempt of common humanity. "All Israelites are princes." "All Israelites are holy." "Happy are ye, O Israel, for every one of you, from the least even to the greatest, is a great philosopher." "As it is impossible for the world to be without air, so also is it impossible for the world to be without Israel." "One empire cometh and another passeth away, but Israel abideth for ever." "The world was created only for Israel: none are called the children of God but Israel; none are beloved before God but Israel." "Ten measures of wisdom came down to the world. The land of Israel received nine, the rest of the world but one."

Judaism and Christianity

Critics of Judaism are accused of bigotry of race, as well as of bigotry of religion. The accusation comes strangely from those who style themselves the Chosen People, make race a religion, and treat all races except their own as Gentiles and unclean.

The notion that the Jews are to be maltreated because their ancestors by the hand of Pilate crucified Christ, has long been discarded and derided by all enlightened Christians. But equally baseless is the notion that Christianity owes homage to Judaism, has any particular interest in it, or any particular duty concerning it. To Talmudic Judaism, at all events, it owes nothing. Whether in its origin it owed anything to the liberal school of Hillel, we cannot tell. The Talmud is a vast repertory of legalism, formalism, ceremonialism, and casuistry. Nothing can be more opposed to the spontaneity of conscience, trust in principle, and preference of the spirit to the letter characteristic of the Gospel, in which even the Ten Commandments are superseded by the Two.

> "…. Every Gentile child, so soon as born, was to be regarded as unclean …"

The pervading intention of the Talmud is, by multiplying ceremonial barriers, to keep the Chosen People separate from the Gentiles among whom they lived; in other words, to perpetuate the tribe. Christianity is a religion of humanity. Baptism is a rite of initiation into a universal brotherhood. Circumcision, the Jewish circumcision at all events, is the mark of enrollment in an exclusive tribe. The fundamental antagonism of Judaism to Christianity was shown, not only in the murder of Christ, but in the bitter persecution of his followers. Christianity had its antecedents, but it begins with Christ: it has no relation to Talmudic Judaism but those of reaction and secession.

Neither Accursed Nor Sacred

We have given up the fancy that the Jew is accursed. We must cease to believe that he is sacred. Israel was the favorite people of Jehovah, as every tribe was the favorite of its own god. The belief that the Father of all and the God of justice had a favorite race, made with it a covenant sealed with the barbarous rite of circumcision, pledged himself to promote its interest against those of other races, destroyed all the innocent first-born of Egypt to force Pharaoh to let it go, licensed its aggrandizement by conquest, stopped the sun in heaven to give it time to slaughter people whose lands it invaded without a cause, and gratified its malignity by enjoining it when it took one of the cities which were given it for its inheritance to save alive nothing that breathed, ought now to be laid aside, with all its corollaries and consequences, including the passionate, and, to the Hebrew, somewhat offensive effort to convert this particular race to Christianity. We have been told from the pulpit that at the last day the world will be judged by a Jew, and a religious lady once suggested to a Jew who had been converted to Christianity that he should go on circumcising his sons. We shall have little right to complain of the tribal arrogance of the Jew so long as the Old Testament continues to be indiscriminately read in our churches and we persist, by talking of a chosen people, in ascribing favoritism to the Almighty. The belief that "God has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth" is the foundation of a religion of humanity, and Judaism is its practical denial.

"We shall have little right to complain of the tribal arrogance of the Jew so long as the Old Testament continues to be indiscriminately read in our churches and we persist, by talking of a chosen people, in ascribing favoritism to the Almighty."

Struggling with the Old Testament

Jesus called himself the Son of Man. He was a Galilean, that is, in high Jewish estimation, an inferior Jew, setting aside the "endless" or "profitless" genealogies which the writer of the First Epistle to Timothy classes with fables and bids us not to heed. Born into Judaism, he accepted it and "fulfilled" all its "righteousness," while he must have known, as his antagonists did, that his principles would subvert it. Because he did this, we have taken upon our understandings and hearts a belief in the divine authority of the Old Testament, that is, of the whole mass of Hebrew literature; we have bound ourselves to see inspiration, not only in its more elevated, spiritual, and moral parts, but in those which are not elevated, spiritual, or even moral.

We torture our consciences into approval of the spoiling of the Egyptians by a fraud, the slaughter of the Canaanites, the slaying of Sisera, the hewing of Agag in pieces before the Lord, and David's legacy of vengeance; our intellects into the acceptance of the Book of Chronicles as authentic history, and of such miracles as the stopping of the sun, the conversion of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, the speaking ass of Balaam, the destruction of the children who mocked Elisha by a bear, and the sojourn of Jonah in the belly of a whale. In church we read, with psalms of universal beauty, psalms of Oriental vindictiveness. We constrain ourselves to see divine meaning, not only in the sublime passages of Isaiah, but in the obscurest and most incoherent utterances of his brother prophets. We read theological mysteries into a love-song because it is a part of the sacred volume. Till this superstition is cast out we shall ill appreciate what is really divine in the Old Testament. Not in the darker side of the Puritan character alone are the evil effects of this idolatry to be traced.

There was much that was infinitely memorable, but recent criticism forbids us to believe that there was anything miraculous, in the history of Israel. Whatever may have been the local origin of the Jews, who spoke the same language as the other inhabitants of Canaan, the race, we may be sure, was cast in the same primeval mold as the kindred races. The story of the Patriarchs and the Exodus being in all its parts — the primitive theophanies in the tents of Patriarchs, the supernatural birth of Isaac, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the transformation of Lot's wife, the wrestling of Jacob with Jehovah, the marvellous story of Joseph, the miraculous multiplication of the Israelites, the competition between the envoys of Jehovah and the Egyptian magicians, the plagues of Egypt, the drying up of the Red Sea, the forty years' wandering in the barren Sinaitic desert, the prodigies which there took place, the giants of Canaan, and the stopping of the sun — manifestly poetical, it would seem that the narrative as a whole must, in accordance with a well-known canon of criticism, be dismissed from history and relegated to another domain.

Of the exact process by which the finer spirits of Israel attained a tribal monotheism, which at last verged on monotheism pure and simple, and carried with it a high morality, while the grosser spirits were always hankering after the groves and images

of their idolatry, no exact account has been given us, though the prophets, as moral reformers, clearly played a great part in it. But it involved no miracle, since without miracle Socrates and Plato, Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus could rise to the same level. The peculiar service rendered to humanity by Judaism was the identification of religion with morality through the conception of a God of righteousness and of justice and mercy as his law. Against which we have to set the dark shadow cast on our spiritual life by the cruel fanaticism of the Jew and the sombre denunciations of his prophets. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was extraneous to Judaism, and was rejected by one of its sects; the tribal idea of immortality being the perpetuation of the family in the tribe.

Jewish Parasitism

Nor is there anything miraculous, penal, or even mysterious, about the Jewish dispersion or its commercial character. The case of Israel is one, though incomparably the most sharply defined, as well as the most memorable, of a number of cases of parasitism, to borrow that phrase from botany. Other cases are those of the Armenians, the Parsees, the Greeks of the dispersion, ancient and modern, and humblest of all, the Gypsies ... The dispersion of the Jews was anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, for Paul found Jewish settlements, mercantile no doubt, wherever he went. It may have begun with the transplantation to Babylon, and have been extended by the transplantation to Egypt under the Ptolemies. But its principal cause probably was the narrowness of the Jewish territory, combined with the love of gain in the Jew ...

Apparently, there was a religious party in Judea which wished to make the people simple and pious tillers of the soil, and from which emanated that ideal polity of husbandmen with hereditary lots and a year of jubilee, ascribed by its framers to the great lawgiver of the race. But the trading instinct was too strong. In the stories of the patriarch who bought the birthright of his hungry brother, of the Jewish vizier who taught Pharaoh how to obtain the surrender of all the freeholds of his people by taking advantage of the famine, and of the Hebrews who spoiled the Egyptians by pretending to borrow jewels which they never meant to return, we see the gleamings of a character which was not likely to be content with the moderate gains of a small farming community.

Unity in Dispersion

Jewish parasitism, still to use the botanic metaphor, could not fail to be confirmed by the fall of Jerusalem, which deprived the dispersed nationality of its center, though the holy city even in its desolation remained the Mecca of Judaism ... Nationality was preserved by the Mosaic law, the Talmud, and circumcision, the last being probably the strongest bond of all. "That the Jews," says Spinoza, "have maintained themselves so long in spite of their disorganized or dispersed condition, is not at all to be wondered at when it is considered how they separated themselves from all other nationalities in such a way as to bring upon themselves the hatred of all, and that, not only by external rites contrary to those of other nations, but also by the sign of circumcision, which they most religiously retain."

Any other race of strong vitality with the same bonds and barriers might have retained their nationality equally well. The Parsees, though a much weaker community in their origin, have retained their separate existence for eleven centuries. The Gypsies appear to have retained their separate existence for five centuries. There is therefore nothing miraculous about the wandering Jew, nor need we suppose that he is the special object either of the wrath or the favor of heaven ...

Israel henceforth definitely became what it has always remained, a tribe scattered yet united, sojourning in all communities, blending with none, and forming a nation within each nation. The natural tendency of a race without a country was not to agriculture but to such trades as the Jew has plied, especially the money trade. The insecurity and uncertainty of his residence would deter him from owning property which could not easily be removed. Habit became ingrained and the attempts to form agricultural colonies of the Jews at the present day appear to be uniformly unsuccessful ... The trading instinct seems to have been too inveterate even when Jews have been carried back to their own land.

The Jew has thus worn everywhere the unpopular aspect of an intruder, who by his financial skill was absorbing the wealth of the community without adding to it. Not to produce but to make a market of everything has been his general tendency and forte. Among other things he has made a market of war. He bought Christian captives and spoils of the barbarian invaders of the Roman Empire. He bought up at forced sales the property of those who were departing for the Crusades. He has constantly followed in the wake of armies, making his profit out of the havoc and out of the recklessness of the soldier. General Grant found it necessary [December 1862] to banish Jews from his camp. On the field of Austerlitz Marshal Lannes bids one who accosts him to wait till he has stopped the depredations of the Jews.

Rules for Jewish Distinctiveness

That the Jew clings not only to his religion but to his nationality, and that the two are blended together, or rather are identical, can hardly be doubted when we find in a Jewish Catechism (Jewish School Books - No. 1, *The Law of Moses: A Catechism of the Jewish Religion*, new edition, pp. 68, 69. By the Rev. A. P. Mendes) such a passage as this:

> Q, What other ordinances has God made to prevent our falling into sin?
>
> A. Those which forbid our associating with bad men or intermarrying with wicked and idolatrous nations.
>
> "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil." — Exodus 23: 2. "Neither shalt thou make marriages with them (the nations); thy daughter thou shall not give to his son, nor his daughter shall thou take unto thy son." — Deuteronomy 7: 3.
>
> Q. Is this latter command important?
>
> A. Yes, it is of the greatest moment, and the experience of the past has shown its importance.
>
> Q. In what manner?
>
> A. Whenever our people have intermarried with other nations, they have fallen into their idolatries. "But they were mingled among the heathen and learned their works; and they served their idols which were a snare unto them." — Psalms 106: 34, 35 [35, 36].
>
> Q. Does the law lay much stress upon this precept?
>
> A. Yes, we are repeatedly enjoined to keep from admixture of race, and many of the laws relating to the soil are referable to this subject ...
>
> Q. Are we commanded still to keep ourselves distinct from other nations?
>
> A. Assuredly; we may love them as ourselves, help them in their need, and labor with them for the good of our fellow-creatures, but we must not intermarry with them, lest we should be led away from the Law.

'All-Controlling' Talmudic Ordinances

The Roman Catholic Church, it is true, discourages mixed marriages on religious grounds. But she does not teach her children that "assuredly they are a nation," and she does try to bring all mankind within her fold. If the Jews, as one of their chief Rabbis seems to intimate, are not a nation but a church, why do they not proselytize? How came it to be said of them, by one of their own race, that they no more desire to make converts than does the House of Lords? However, supposing religion to be the bond, it is the religion of Moses. Does not the religion of Moses separate the people of Jehovah from mankind? The Eastern Jew, the Russian or Polish Jew, and the orthodox Jew everywhere, it appears, still hold by the Talmud. Mr. Hershon says that

> to the orthodox Jew the Talmud is like the encircling ocean — inserts itself into and makes itself felt in every nook and corner of his existence, like an atmosphere encompasses the whole round of his being, penetrates into all centers of vitality, presses with incumbent weight upon every class irrespective of age or sex or rank, is all-inspiring, all-including, and all-controlling, covers in the regard of the illuminated the whole field of life, and with its principles affects, or ought to affect, every thought and every action of every member of the Jewish state.

The wealthy and enlightened Jew of London, Paris, or New York, perhaps, is no longer Talmudic; his religion is probably Theism combined with a vague belief in the sanctity and the superior destiny of his race; yet even he keeps himself much apart from the Gentiles, and if he remains a Jew at all he must observe the law of Moses, that is, a sep*aratist* law. In fact those who have studied the subject carefully say that alike by the rich Jew of Bayswater and the middle class Jew of Highbury the safeguards of tribalism are kept as far as possible without actual

"It seems impossible that any man should belong in heart to two nationalities and be a patriot of each. He may be a conforming and dutiful citizen of the community among which he dwells as long as there is no conflict of national interest. But when there is a conflict of national interests his attachment to his own nationality will prevail."

offense to Gentile society. The "Polish" Jew, alike in Poland and in Whitechapel, is still strongly Talmudic. If the Jew keeps Christian servants in his house it is to do for him what he is not permitted to do for himself on the Sabbath. By making this use of the heathen he shows that Moab is still his wash pot.

That the Jews have, as a rule, observed the laws and performed their civic duties in the countries of their sojourn, no one will deny, and it was natural that they should not take more upon them than they could help of public imposts which to them were unsweetened by patriotism. In countries where military service is part of the duties of a citizen, as it is in Germany, they have not sought to evade it, though they do not voluntarily enlist. It is understood that they behaved well as soldiers in the German army. Wealth has inclined them to conservatism, and the stories about their sinister activities in the French Revolution are fables, though Karl Marx and [Ferdinand] Lassalle were the founders of Socialism, and Judaism is believed to have contributed its quota to Nihilism in Russia. When a Jew plays revolutionist, we may generally expect to see him top the part. To top the part is natural when it is played in a spirit of exploitation. Some Jews have been noted as citizens for beneficence not confined to their own tribe. It is likely, too, that in lands where the Jew has been long established, the sentiment of home has grown strong enough to countervail that of tribal nationality in his breast, and to make removal very cruel.

Still, he is a Jew dwelling among Gentiles. He is one of the Chosen People. He has a nationality apart, with Messianic hopes, more or less definite, of its own, and vague anticipations of future ascendancy. It seems impossible that any man should belong in heart to two nationalities and be a patriot of each. He may be a conforming and dutiful citizen of the community among which he dwells as long as there is no conflict of national interest. But when there is a conflict of national interests his attachment to his own nationality will prevail.

Advantageous Alliance

Mr. Laurence Oliphant, in his book *The Land of Gilead* (p. 503), dwells more than once on the great advantages which any European government might gain over its rivals by an alliance with the Jews. He writes:

> It is evident that the policy which I proposed to the Turkish government [that is, the restoration of Palestine] might be adopted with equal advantage by England or any other European Power. The nation that espoused the cause of the Jews and their restoration to Palestine, would be able to rely on their support in financial operations on the largest scale, upon the powerful influence which they wield in the press of many countries, and upon their political co-operation in those countries, which would of necessity tend to paralyze the diplomatic and even hostile action of Powers antagonistic to the one with which they were allied. Owing to the financial, political, and commercial importance to which the Jews have now attained, there is probably no one Power in Europe that would prove so valuable an ally to a nation likely to be engaged in a European war, as this wealthy, powerful, and cosmopolitan race.

Perhaps the writer of these words hardly realized the state of things which they present to our minds. We see the governments of Europe bidding against each other for the favor and support of an anti-national money power, which would itself be morally unfettered by any allegiance, would be ever ready to betray and secretly paralyze for its own objects the governments under the protection of which its members were living, and of course would be always gaining strength and predominance at the expense of a divided and subservient world. The allusion to the influence wielded by the Jews in the European press has a particularly sinister sound. In the social as in the physical sphere new diseases are continually making their appearance. One of the new social diseases of the present day, and certainly not the least deadly, is the perversion of public opinion in the interest of private or sectional objects, by the clandestine manipulation of the press.

A Nation Within the Nation

Such a relation as that in which Judaism has placed itself to the people of each country, forming everywhere a nation within the nation, cherishing the pride of a Chosen People, regarding those among whom it dwelt as Gentiles and unclean, shrinking from social intercourse with them, engrossing their wealth by financial skill, but not adding to it by labor, plying at the same time a trade which, however legitimate, is always unpopular and makes many victims, could not possibly fail to lead, as it has led, to mutual hatred and the troubles which ensue. Certain as may be the gradual prevalence of good over evil, it is a futile optimism which denies that there have been calamities in history. One of them has been the dispersion of the Jews.

As was said before, it is incredible that all the nations should have mistaken a power of good for a power of evil, or have been unanimous in ingratitude to a power of good.

A Fresh Invasion

None of them want to hurt the Jew or to interfere with his religious belief; what they all want is that if possible he should go to his own land. As it is, Western Europe and the western hemisphere are threatened with a fresh invasion on the largest scale by the departure of Jews from Russia. American politics are already beginning to feel the influence. A party, to catch the Jewish vote, puts into its platform a denunciation of Russia, the best friend of the American Republic in its day of trial. Jews are becoming strong in the British House of Commons and one of them the other day appealed to his compatriots to combine their forces against the political party which had been opposed to Jewish interests.

That the Jew should be de-rabbinized and de-nationalized, in other words that he should renounce the Talmud, the tribal parts of the Mosaic law, and circumcision, is the remedy proposed by M. Leroy-Beaulieu, a writer by no means unfavorable to Israel. There seems to be no other way of putting an end to a conflict which is gradually enveloping all nations. This being done, whatever gifts and graces may belong to the race of Moses, David, and Isaiah, of the writers of the Book of Job and of the Psalms, of Judas Maccabaeus and Hillel, will have free course and be glorified. If Israel has any message for humanity, as he seems to think, it will he heard. Jewish merit will no longer be viewed with jealousy and distrust as having a sinister confederation at its back; and no man need fear in the present age that in any highly civilized community he will suffer persecution or disparagement of any sort on account of his religion. But the present relation is untenable. The Jew will have either to return to Jerusalem or to forget it, give his heart to the land of his birth and mingle with humanity.

"One of the new social diseases of the present day, and certainly not the least deadly, is the perversion of public opinion in the interest of private or sectional objects, by the clandestine manipulation of the press."

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Nuremberg: Woe to the Vanquished

Nuremberg: The Last Battle, by David Irving. London: Focal Point, 1996. Hardcover. 380 pp. Photos. Source notes. Index. (Available for sale from the IHR for $39.95, plus shipping.)

Reviewed by Daniel W. Michaels

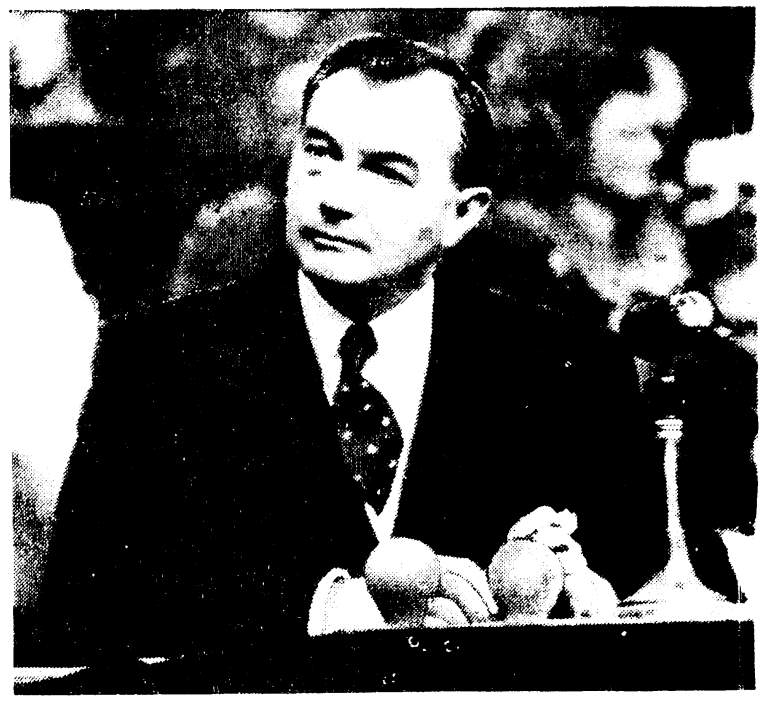
This book is vintage Irving, bearing all the familiar hallmarks of the British historian's skilled treatment of World War II: original research based on primary sources, vivid writing, and consideration for the German point of view, all with a defiant thumb to the nose to "court historians" and their "politically correct" adherents.

As he has amply demonstrated in his 30 published works of history, Irving is a master of excavating nuggets of historical gold from neglected archive files and ignored private diaries and letters. Because of his reputation as a scrupulous chronicler, numerous survivors of the Second World War era who are mistrustful (often with good reason) of establishment historians have, over the decades, entrusted him with their private papers.

In writing this "intimate look at the origins and conduct" of the 1945-1946 International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Irving has relied heavily on many hitherto neglected papers and documents, above all the official and private papers of Robert H. Jackson, a US Supreme Court Justice who served as the chief American prosecutor. Throughout this book, Irving shows considerable sympathy for Jackson, whom he portrays as an essentially decent man caught up in a tragic drama. "If this story needs a hero," writes Irving, "then he is Jackson."

As we learn, Jackson was initially enthusiastic about his important appointment, hoping to be the main architect of a new framework of international law. But even before the Tribunal's opening session, he was arguing in Washington with his superiors, emphatically expressing his ethical and professional position:

> If we want to shoot Germans as a matter of policy, let it be done as such, but don't hide the deed behind a court. If you are determined to execute a man in any case, there is no occasion for a trial; the world yields no respect to courts that are merely organized to convict.



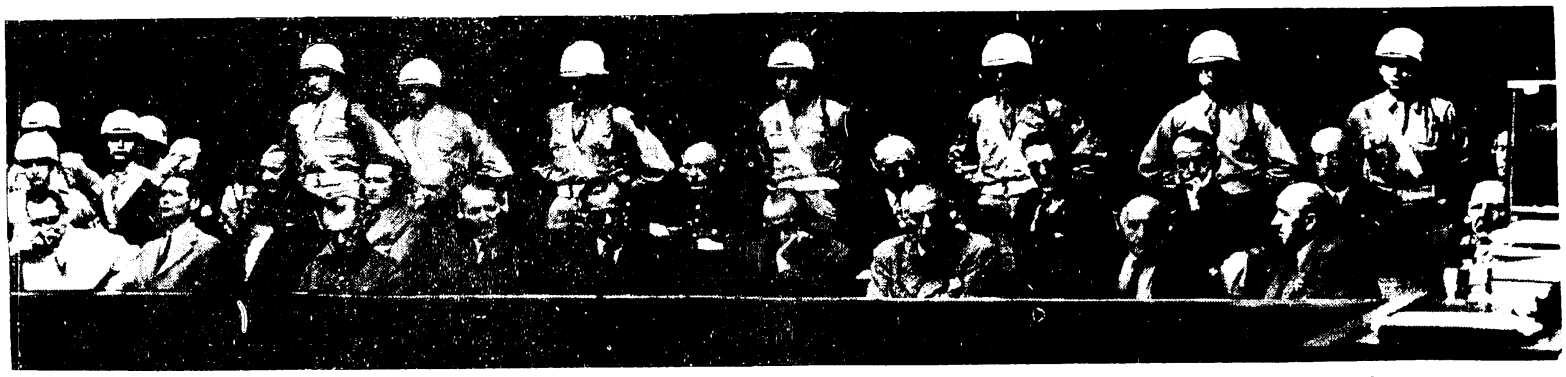
Robert H. Jackson, chief US prosecutor at Nuremberg, during his closing address to the Tribunal. He is the central figure of Irving's book.

Early on, Irving relates, Jackson had a serious disagreement about his job with "Wild Bill" Donovan, head of the United States' OSS intelligence service (predecessor to the CIA):

> It soon became clear that the OSS had intended all along to manage the whole trial along the lines of an NKVD [Soviet] show-trial, with Jackson little more than a professional actor. As part of the stage-management, they proposed to run a pre-trial propaganda campaign in the United States, with "increasing emphasis on the publication of atrocity stories to keep the public in the proper frame of mind." To this end the OSS devised and scripted for the education of the American public a two-reel film on war crimes, called *Crime and Punishment*; it was designed to put the case against the leading Nazis. Jackson declined to participate.

As Jackson came to more fully understand the nature of the role he was expected to play at Nuremberg, he became more troubled and dismayed. Con-

Daniel W. Michaels is a Columbia University graduate (Phi Beta Kappa, 1954), a Fulbright exchange student to Germany (1957), and recently retired from the US Department of Defense after 40 years of service.



The 21 defendants in the dock at the "International Military Tribunal," which met at Nuremberg, November 1945-October 1946.

fronted with the reality of the Nuremberg process, Irving shows, Jackson's idealism subsided, but never entirely vanished.

High-Level Decisions

As Germany's defeat became more obvious, the Allied leaders began discussing more specifically how to deal with the vanquished nation and its leadership. President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill and Premier Stalin readily agreed that many prominent German leaders would be put to death, and that Germany itself would be so crippled industrially that it would never again be a major European economic and military power. "We have got to be tough with Germany," said President Roosevelt, "and I mean the German people, not just the Nazis. You either have to castrate the German people or you have got to treat them in such a manner so they can't go on reproducing people who want to continue the way they have in the past."

Because the Allies had already publicly branded the German leaders as criminals, the discussions focused on whether they should be executed straight-away or after a public trial of some sort. Roosevelt and Churchill initially favored simply shooting most of Germany's military and political leaders outright as they were found or surrendered. (This is what happened to Italy's *Duce*, Benito Mussolini, who was simply murdered, along with his entourage.) It was Stalin who, mindful of his success in destroying rivals with the help of elaborate show trials, insisted that the German leaders be put on trial. Roosevelt and Churchill fell in line. Considering the adulation accorded the Nuremberg Tribunal by many in the United States and Britain today, it is strange (Irving notes) that it might never have come into being if the Soviet dictator had not insisted on it.

Not surprisingly, Soviet officials were under no illusions about the real nature and purpose of the Nuremberg proceedings. The Tribunal's Soviet judge, Ion T. Nikitchenko, candidly summed up his government's view of the proceedings: "We are dealing here with the chief war criminals who have already been convicted and whose conviction has already been announced by the heads of the governments." He objected to the "fiction" that the Tribunal was objective, explaining that the judges' job was merely to decide the appropriate punishment, and the prosecutors' simply to assist the judges.

Double Standard

As Irving shows, the victorious Allies who sat in judgment at Nuremberg were guilty of many of the same actions or crimes for which they tried (and hanged) the German defendants. Indeed, the Allies very probably outdid the Germans in crimes and atrocities.

Irving cites, for example, the British-American fire bombings of Dresden, Hamburg and other German cities, killing tens of thousands of civilians at a time, the "ethnic cleansing" mass expulsion of German civilians from eastern and central Europe, of whom some two million perished or were killed, the widespread summary shootings of German prisoners, and the Allies' use of hundreds of thousands of German prisoners as slave laborers. He also cites such lesser-known incidents as the sinking by British aircraft during the war's final days of a clearly marked German Red Cross refugee ship, the *Cap Arcona*, killing 7,300 refugees, mostly women and children.

At the Yalta conference in February 1945, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin agreed to use millions of German POWs and German civilians as slave labor in Soviet Russia, France, and Belgium as partial "reparations in kind." Jackson was shocked to learn that the Soviets wanted five million of these forced laborers, and France two million. (No final accounting has ever been made of the total number deported to the USSR for this purpose, or of the number who ever returned.) President Roosevelt endorsed this policy, which was in blatant violation of international law, concerned only about the possibly negative impact on public opinion and election prospects back home.

Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin, meeting at the Yalta conference in February 1945, laid down the broad outlines of postwar Allied occupation policy for Germany.

In some cases, the Nuremberg defendants were charged with or held guilty of crimes that were actually committed by the Allies. Most noteworthy, perhaps, is the massacre, at Katyn and elsewhere, of some 11,000-15,000 Polish officers and intellectuals. At Nuremberg Soviet prosecutors presented seemingly persuasive evidence of German responsibility for this crime, and several Germans whom a Soviet court had found guilty of these killings were publicly hanged in Leningrad. It was only decades later that Soviet officials formally acknowledged that the massacre had been carried out by the Soviet secret police, acting on Stalin's orders.

Predictably, the Allies grandly exploited the Tribunal for propaganda purposes. As Irving relates, the Americans forced the defendants to watch US-made "documentary" films of German atrocities that deceitfully included scenes of corpses filmed in the wake of Allied air raids on German cities and factories. Some of the German viewers spotted the deception, and one former Messerschmitt worker said he even recognized himself in the film.

Unprecedented Legal Procedures

In these unprecedented proceedings, the Allies discarded basic principles of Western jurisprudence, perhaps most notably the well-established principle that in the absence of a law there can be neither crime nor punishment — *nullum crimen sine lege, nulla poene sine lege*. Instead, the Tribunal established new laws for the occasion, which were applied not only retroactively, but uniquely and exclusively to the German defendants. The Allies thus refused to consider the German defense argument of *tu quoque* or "you too" — that is, punishing the German defendants for actions that the Allies themselves also carried out.

The Tribunal rejected defendants' pleas of obeying higher orders, even though, as Irving points out, precisely this had been affirmed as a valid defense under both British and American military law. Article 347 of the American *Rules of Land Warfare*, for example, specifically declares: "Members of the armed forces are not punished for these crimes, provided they were committed on the orders or with the permission of their governments or commanders."

The Tribunal's procedures, which were a blend of Allied procedures, differed markedly from German practice. In Germany, as in most of continental Europe, the court's primary objective is to ascertain the truth. However, the Nuremberg Tribunal adopted a version of the American confrontational system, in which each side introduces only the evidence that benefits its own case. But because the Allies had confiscated all pertinent German documents and records, and refused access to them by the defense attorneys, the prosecution had a tremendous advantage over the German defendants.

'Semitism Gone Wild'

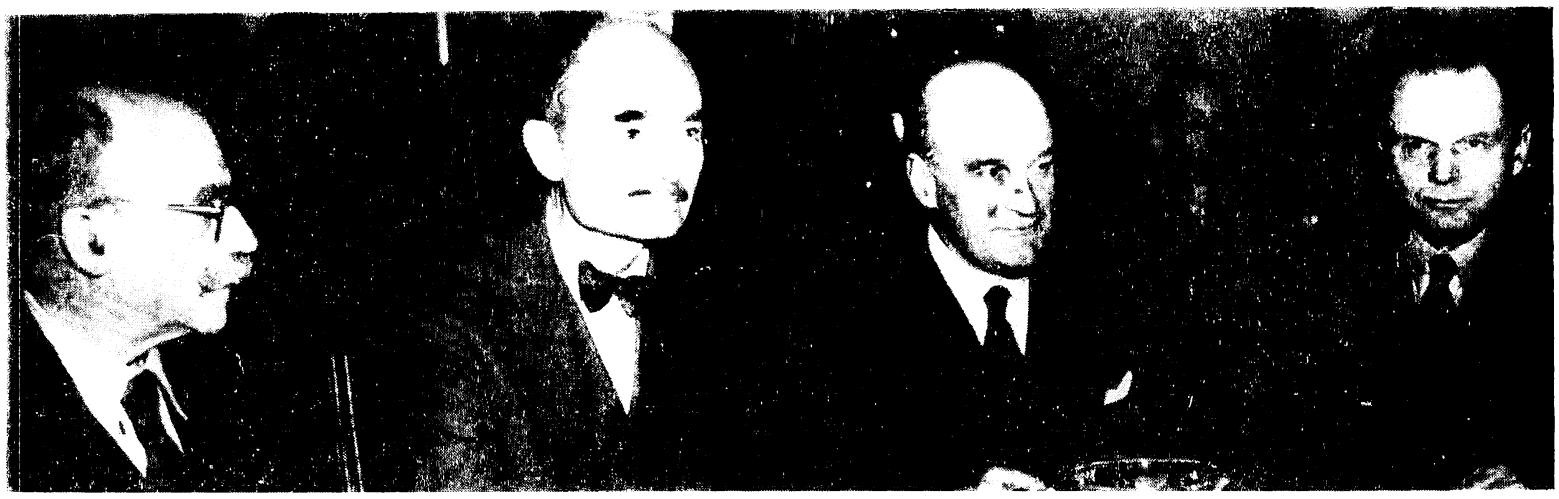
With President Roosevelt's approval, high-ranking Washington officials of Jewish origin played a major role in setting America's policy on the postwar occupation of Germany, including the Nuremberg Tribunal. These included Isadore Lubin, Samuel Rosenman, Murray Bernays, and Herbert Wechsler. Above all, the malevolent role played by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., US Treasury Secretary and Roosevelt's trusted adviser, insured that the spirit of the Talmud and the Old Testament would prevail.

As Irving shows, at least some Allied figures involved with the Nuremberg proceedings were honorable men who were dismayed by the heavy spirit of revenge. Some American and British officials were repelled by the general tenor of American and Soviet occupation policy toward defeated Germany. No less a figure than US Secretary of War Henry Stimson expressed concern:

> I found around me, particularly in Morgenthau, a very bitter atmosphere of personal resentment against the entire German people without regard to individual guilt, and I am very much afraid that it will result in our taking mass vengeance on the part of our people ...

On another occasion Stimson said:

> I cannot believe that he [Roosevelt] will follow Morgenthau's views. If he does, it will certainly be a disaster... The President appoints a committee and then goes off to Quebec with the man [Morgenthau] who really represents the minority and is so biased by his Semitic grievances that he is really a very dangerous advisor ...



The Nuremberg Tribunal judges (left to right): Henri Donnedieu de Vabres (France), Francis Biddle (USA), Geoffrey Lawrence (Britain), and I.T. Nikitchenko (Soviet Union).

On still another occasion, Stimson confided: "I have yet to meet a man who is not horrified with the 'Carthaginian' attitude of the Treasury [Morgenthau]. It is Semitism gone wild for vengeance..." Britain's Anthony Eden had much the same opinion of Morgenthau and his Jewish circle: "These ex-Germans seem to wish to wash away their ancestry in a bath of hate."

In addition, Irving relates, officials of "several powerful Jewish organizations" intervened in the Nuremberg process. A few days before leaving for London in June 1945, Robert Jackson met in New York with Judge Nathan Perlman, Dr. Jacob Robinson, and Dr. Alexander Kohanski, who made quite clear their intention to play an important role in running the trial. (See also: M. Weber, "The Nuremberg Trials and the Holocaust," Summer 1992 *Journal*, pp. 170-171.)

It was at this meeting that Robinson, an official of the World Jewish Congress, told Jackson that six million Jews had been lost during the war, and that he had arrived at this figure "by extrapolation." As Irving tartly comments, "in other words his figure was somewhere between a hopeful estimate and an educated guess."

As it happens, this same six million figure, Irving notes, had been cited 26 years earlier in a leading Jewish-American periodical. In a 1919 essay by a former Governor of New York state, readers were told that "six million" Jews "are dying" in a "threatened holocaust of human life" as victims of "the awful tyranny of war and a bigoted lust for Jewish blood." (Facsimile in the Nov.-Dec. 1995 *Journal*, p. 31.)

Grave Misgivings

Responsible Allied military leaders disapproved of the postwar trials, especially of their counterparts in the German armed forces. Many American combat officers ardently opposed the prosecution of soldiers for obeying harsh orders issued by politicians. (See: H.K. Thompson and H. Strutz, eds., *Doenitz at Nuremberg: A Reappraisal* [IHR, 1983].)

In occupied Germany, American officers disliked having to enforce the vengeful Morgenthau directive 1067, and condemned as un-American the "so-called Gestapo methods used in handling Germans" that were being employed by (Jewish) refugees who had hurriedly been drafted into the US Army.

A few high-ranking British and American officers even spoke out on behalf of their German counterparts. For example, US Pacific Fleet commander Admiral Chester Nimitz issued a statement on behalf of Nuremberg defendant Admiral Karl Dönitz, who headed Germany's wartime U-boat fleet, confirming that American submarines had operated in the Pacific just as German submarines had operated under Dönitz' command in the Atlantic.

Francis Biddle, the Tribunal's senior American judge, was moved to conclude that "the Germans fought a much cleaner war at sea than we did." To his credit, Biddle also refused, in an important dissenting opinion, to sanction the handing over of Russian prisoners to the Soviets. (Regrettably, though, both British and American forces did so anyway in such transfers as the infamous "Operation Keelhaul.")

Harlan F. Stone, Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court, was outspoken in his criticism of the proceedings. While he admitted that he would not be disturbed if the victors put the vanquished to the sword as was customary in days of old, Stone said he was disturbed to have the action dressed up in "the habiliments of common law."

Fraudulent and Suppressed Evidence

As Irving shows, some of the evidence presented by the Allies to the Tribunal was fraudulent. This includes the widely-quoted report of a speech by

Hitler confers with General Alfred Jodl during a wartime military briefing. Observing the discussion is Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, Chief of the Armed Forces High Command. Jodl and Keitel were sentenced to death by the Nuremberg Tribunal, and hanged on October 16, 1946. Jodl was later posthumously exonerated by a German court, which cited the view of the Tribunal's French judge that his conviction had been unjustified.

Hitler to his generals on August 22, 1939, Nuremberg document 003-L, which Irving refers to as a "now notorious forgery."

No testimony had a more profound impact on everyone, including the defendants, than the "confession" of former Auschwitz commandant Rudolf Höss. As Irving shows, this widely-quoted statement, which was extracted after "three days of torture" by British military men, "contained numerous perhaps deliberate errors." Höss had attempted to smuggle out of prison a letter to his wife in which he apologized for "confessing" to horrible atrocities at Auschwitz, relating that he had been tortured into making spurious admissions. The letter was seized by prison officials and never delivered, and is now in private hands in the United States.

The "protocol" of the January 1942 Wannsee conference, Irving writes, has been given "a wholly undeserved reputation as a key document in the Final Solution of the Jewish Problem." As he points out, it "contains no explicit reference to the killing of Jews," and Irving casts doubt on its authenticity.

A key German document on this matter, Irving notes, was suppressed for decades. This is a spring 1942 memorandum by Justice Ministry *Staatssekretär* Franz Schlegelberger recording that Dr. Hans Lammers, chief of the Reich chancellery, had informed him that Hitler had "repeatedly" ordered the solution of the Jewish problem "postponed until after the war."

On the basis of bogus evidence, Irving relates, *a number* of familiar Holocaust horrors were supposedly proven at Nuremberg, including gassings at Dachau, steaming of Jews at Treblinka, and manufacturing of soap from human bodies.

As Irving reports, important documentary evidence, including the private papers and diaries of Heinrich Himmler and Hermann Göring, were *looted* by Allied troops and have disappeared.

Unjust Selection Standards

The Allies were never able to decide just who should be put on trial, or on what basis. As Irving repeatedly points out, at least several of the defendants should not have been in the dock at all. This was particularly true of the military men — Göring, Jodl, Keitel, Dönitz and Raeder. As prisoners of war, they were supposedly protected by the provisions of the Geneva Convention, which prohibited such trials. To get around this awkward legalism, the Tribunal arranged for these defendants to be technically "discharged" from the (no longer existing) German armed forces so they could "legally" be put on trial. After being "discharged," *their* military ranks were obliterated. Even their medals (from both world wars) were taken from them and, after removing any precious stones or metals, destroyed.

General Alfred Jodl, whom nearly everyone rec-

ognized as an honorable professional soldier, had not even met Hitler until 1939. (Jackson "privately felt the greatest respect for Jodl," Irving relates.) In fact, Jodl was later posthumously exonerated by a German court, which cited the view of the Tribunal's French judge, Henri Donnedieu de Vabres, that Jodl's conviction had been without merit and a miscarriage of justice.

On what legitimate grounds could Rudolf Hess, Irving queries, be accused of war crimes? He played no role in determining Germany's war aims or occupation policies. Indeed, in carrying out his ill-fated "peace flight" to Britain in May 1941, he was "the only man to have undertaken, at risk to his own life, a step to end the madness of war." All the same, the Allied judges sentenced this humane and peace-loving man to life imprisonment. (He died, under mysterious circumstances by strangulation, in Berlin's Spandau prison in 1987. His son, Wolf Hess, says he was murdered. See: "The Life and Death of My Father Rudolf Hess," and "The Legacy of Rudolf Hess," both in the Jan.-Feb. 1993 *Journal*.)

Standing among the other Nuremberg defendants, Alfred Jodl delivers his final plea to the Tribunal. "Later historians will arrive at a just and objective verdict" concerning the wartime conduct of the German armed forces, he said. Even US prosecutor Jackson respected Jodl as an honorable professional soldier.

Hans Fritzsche, a German propaganda ministry department chief and wartime radio commentator, was on trial only as a stand-in for Goebbels, and because he happened to be the most important German prisoner in Soviet hands.

Göring's Spirited Defense

Hermann Göring, once the second most powerful man in Germany, put up the most spirited and memorable defense. This was especially apparent in a remarkable back and forth confrontation over several days with Robert Jackson. "Everything had gone pretty well with the trial until Göring took the witness stand," the American prosecutor himself privately remarked.

Norman Birkett, one of the British judges, commented that Göring was dominating the entire proceedings, and that no one seemed to have been quite prepared for the former *Reichsmarschall*'s immense ability and knowledge, or for his mastery of the captured documents. Of Göring's bravura performance, Birkett wrote:

> The cross examination had not proceeded more than ten minutes before it was seen that he was the complete master of Mr. Justice Jackson. Suave, shrewd, adroit, capable, resourceful, he quickly saw the elements of the situation, and as his confidence grew, his mastery became more apparent... For almost two days he held the stage without interruption of any kind.

Allied journalists were speechless, having believed their own stories that Göring was a dope fiend, a physical wreck and a neurotic.

When at one point an American official murmured something to Göring about Germany's aggressive wars of conquest, the *Reichsmarschall* shot back:

> Don't make me laugh. America, England and Russia have all done the same thing to promote their own national aspirations, but when Germany does it becomes a crime — because we lost.

Even after the judges had sentenced him to death, Göring delivered a final embarrassing slap to the Tribunal by taking his own life, denying the victors the pleasure of hanging him.

Hermann Göring astonished everyone with the mastery and verve he showed at Nuremberg in defending himself and the Third Reich's record.

Streicher's Anti-Jewish Fervor

At the other end of the sophistication scale, defendant Julius Streicher, notorious for his anti-Jewish weekly, *Der Stürmer*, was certain from the outset that the trial was a "triumph of world Jewry," and that "the Jews will make sure enough that we hang." As Irving explains, Streicher was convinced

> that "the Jews" were making it their objective to establish final supremacy over the gentile races by ramming multiculturalism and multiracism down their throats. He had campaigned, in response, for the destruction of the Jews, and that no doubt was why he now found himself here.

When Streicher tried to protest from the witness stand the beatings he had received at the hands of his American captors, Jackson had the remarks stricken from the official record.

The Tribunal's proceedings confirmed everything he had ever believed or taught about the Jews. In Streicher's view:

> In this trial there is no question of according to the defendant a blind and impartial justice; the trial has been set the task of giving to an injustice a veneer of legality by cloaking it in the language of the law.

Mistreatment

Irving details the maltreatment and tortures inflicted on the defendants by their American and British captors, including a near-starvation diet imposed during the Tribunal's proceedings. The defendants' wives were also arrested and thrown into prison — and separated from their children, who were put in orphanages.

Even worse was the treatment of defendants in the American-run post-Nuremberg trials. Thus, the US Army war crimes trials at Dachau "were a mockery of the law," writes Irving, at which "defendants and witnesses there were savagely beaten or intimidated to make them sign false confessions."

(See also Joseph Halow's *Innocent at Dachau*, available from the IHR for $16.50, postpaid.)

Tests conducted by an American psychologist showed that the Nuremberg defendants were of above average intelligence. Several had IQ levels in the genius range: Schacht 143, Seyss-Inquart 141, Göring 141, and Dönitz 138. (A single exception was Streicher, whose 106 IQ was in the normal range.)

To help illustrate the defendants' character and personalities, Irving quotes from letters written by them to their loved ones from their prison cells. For example, Irving cites a passage from a letter Jodl wrote to his wife two days before his hanging:

> It is already late and the lights are soon going out. When our friends come round to see you on the evening after my death, that shall be my funeral parade. On a gun-carriage rests my coffin and all the German soldiers are marching with me — with those who have died in battle out in front and the still living bringing up the rear.

Each of the condemned went to the gallows calmly, bravely, and with as much dignity as possible under the circumstances. Their last words were expressions of love for Germany and for international reconciliation. Because the Nuremberg hangman botched his grim job, the Tribunal's sentence of death by hanging amounted, in practice, to strangulation.

In one of the several final notes penned just before his death, Göring wrote:

> To the Allied Control Council:
>
> I would have let you shoot me without further ado! But it is not possible to hang the German Reichsmarschall! I cannot permit this, for Germany's sake. Besides I have no moral obligation to submit to the justice of my enemies. I have therefore chosen the manner of death of the great Hannibal...
>
> It was clear from the outset that a death sentence would be pronounced against me, as I

Letters

Counted In

It was very refreshing to find you on the Internet World Wide Web. Thanks for clarifying many issues. I've passed around several of your items by fax, and have posted others on the Net. Just wanted to let you know how much you are appreciated. Count me in!

F. T.
Tampa, Florida

Placing Books in Libraries

A good way to get the word out to the public is to donate revisionist books to local public libraries. Recently I placed David Irving's book *Nuremberg: The Last Battle* in my public library. If I can do it, anyone can.

In my experience, the main argument offered by library purchasing departments for deciding not to purchase "non-kosher" books is a supposed lack of interest among the public. This objection can be offset if local patrons, through coordinated action, make repeated requests for a specific title.

Keep up the good work.

P. R.
West Virginia

Bias in History

Some time ago I began to take a close look at the Second World War, Third Reich Germany and the "Holocaust." I began my study, I now know, in a state of ignorance, but I persisted in my effort to determine the facts.

After considerable thought and study, I now believe that much of what is written about that era is purposefully distorted or simply not true. I have also come to regard the Anti-Defamation League and similar Jewish organizations as purveyors of deceitful and self-serving propaganda.

However, I am struck that the *Journal of Historical Review* is also biased, although to a much lesser degree, in that its articles and reviews often present facts in such a way as to portray Jews and Jewish activities in a critical or at least unfriendly way. Moreover, I'd like the *Journal* to more pointedly affirm that Hitler was, after all, a disaster for Germany.

I wish that revisionism would carry a connotation of greater neutrality. Unfortunately it does not, and the perception that revisionism is anti-Jewish is a reality that revisionists should acknowledge and combat.

I think it is detrimental for any historical scholar to permit racial, ethnic or cultural bias to influence how he presents history. To do so distorts our understanding of the past.

The truth must be allowed to plead for itself, without advocacy or partisanship. While this may weaken the short-term utility of history for one purpose or another, it serves the long-term good of all. History, I believe, should be written for those not yet born.

R. G.
Wilmington, N. Carolina

Blind Hatred

Blind justice is said to be good, and it is. But blind hatred is both evil and destructive. I am referring to Richard Phillips' letter in the Sept.-Oct. 1997 *Journal*, in which he criticizes the feature articles by Mark Weber and Greg Pavlik [May-June 1997 issue] criticizing President Truman's decision to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Blind hatred seems to have so clouded Mr. Phillips' vision that he missed the key point of the articles: that the Japanese had offered to surrender at least as early as January 1945, asking only that their emperor not be humiliated or violated — a condition that the Americans ultimately accepted anyway.

Mr. Phillips oddly remarks: "I was reading newspapers in 1945 and they [Weber and Pavlik] were not." That may be, but I was there. In 1945 I was serving in the Pacific on an AKA, an attack cargo ship, which carried and landed Marines from Guadalcanal to Iwo Jima. In late July we were on our way to a staging area to prepare to invade Japan. So, if anyone should have rejoiced at the dropping of the "big ones," it was I!

That was then; this is now. Many years ago I learned the truth, which is available to anyone who seeks after it.

I saw the carnage at Iwo Jima. Had Japan's offer to surrender been accepted in January 1945, how many American lives would have been saved at Iwo Jima, and elsewhere?

It must be terrible to live for more than 50 years with such "never forgive, never forget" hatred. If the general public ever fully understands the truth about Pearl Harbor (which is doubtful), it would be better to direct the hatred expressed by Mr. Phillips against the politicians who start and prolong unnecessary wars for their own aggrandizement.

Dick Meyer
Los Angeles, Calif.

Constraints of Morality and Justice

I was astonished to see the letter by Mr. Richard Phillips in the Sept.-Oct. *Journal* defending the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Mr. Phillips appears to be a newcomer to revisionist studies; perhaps he thinks that the denunciation of that war crime was something thought up by Mark Weber and Greg Pavlik in a fit of contrariness. In fact, condemnation of Truman's mass

atrocity has been a standard and important part of American revisionism since August 1945 — and with good reason.

The deliberate killing of civilians is the classic example of a war crime, in morality and international law. It is nothing but murder. It cannot be excused by the "hate" Mr. Phillips boasts of feeling toward the "Japs," nor even by the hate he says was virtually universal among the American people. On that basis, the Red Army would have been justified in its orgy of rape and murder in Germany in 1945. Phillips writes that "the Japs got exactly what they deserved." How is it possible that tens of thousands of Japanese women, children, and old people incinerated in the two cities — as well as those in Tokyo and other cities before that — "deserved" to be murdered? Mr. Phillips also writes that the American people would not have tolerated anything less than unconditional surrender. But that, of course, is what they did tolerate — in the end, the Japanese were allowed to keep their dynasty and even their Emperor, nor was Hirohito put on trial and executed, as his subjects had feared. The verbal formula of "unconditional surrender" — I wonder if it had anything to do with the fanatical Japanese resistance at Iwo Jima and Okinawa? — did its damage, but the final reality was a conditional surrender.

Mr. Phillips writes from the viewpoint of the US government, of the killers, and not of the Japanese civilians, the victims. Suppose the Japanese had not surrendered when they did? Would Mr. Phillips' "hate" have demanded further atomic bombings of Japan until ... when? Until there were no Japanese left? As for what we should have told the families of American servicemen if we hadn't dropped the bombs and an invasion would have been necessary to impose unconditional surrender — how about this: blame the men in Washington who got us into the war in the first place. (If Mr. Phillips thinks that the attack on Pearl Harbor settles the question of responsibility for the war, then he does indeed have much to learn about revisionism.)

The men in charge of the US government did not possess then, nor do they possess now (for example, in the murderous blockade of Iraq), the right to break the rules whenever it suits their convenience. Their political aims and goals, whatever they may be, must not exceed the constraints of morality and justice.

How should the war have ended? Well, how do wars end? Usually, through negotiations. If this meant leaving a large part of the Japanese empire intact — Korea, Taiwan and even Manchuria — then that might very well have prevented the Communist takeover of China, and the subsequent 30 or 40 million deaths from Maoist policies.

What will we see next in the *Journal*'s letters column — a defense of the incarceration of the Japanese-American perhaps? Or of the destruction of Dresden?

S. B.
Buffalo, New York

Upholding Principle

Some readers might regard your eye-opening feature articles on the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki [May-June 1997 *Journal*] as "leftist" or even "anti-American." But it's worth recalling that many prominent "conservatives" once similarly regarded the bombings as unnecessary and disgraceful.

Nearly 40 years ago, the great American historian Harry Elmer Barnes presented this view in an essay, "Hiroshima: Assault on a Beaten Foe," that appeared as the major feature article in William Buckley's "conservative" magazine, *National Review*, May 10, 1958. In that article Barnes wrote: "Well-informed persons have known for years that the bombing of these Japanese cities was not needed to bring the war to a speedy end ... It has been difficult, however, to get this momentous fact before the American public in any effective manner, even though the relevant information has been published in prominent American newspapers and periodicals ..."

Today the "blackout" of revisionism is vastly more effective, particularly because nearly all of America's supposedly "conservative" leaders and periodicals, including *National Review*, have abandoned their original principles to embrace the "warfare-welfare" state legacy of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman.

Given this elemental shift in America's intellectual climate over the last 40 years, it is all the more important that the Institute and the *Journal of Historical Review* continue faithfully to uphold the honorable tradition of principled, humane and "conservative" historical scholarship.

May Barnes' spirit continue to inspire and guide you in the years to come!

E. Svedlund
Seattle

Faith Restoring

Future generations will applaud your efforts. Without being melodramatic, *The Journal of Historical Review* restores my faith that the truth will ultimately prevail — hopefully in my lifetime. Well, I never thought I'd live to see the collapse of that other great fraud, Communism.

By the way, I hope you saw the recent extraordinary acknowledgment by Steven A. Ludsin, who served as a member of the Advisory Board of the President's Commission on the Holocaust. "The creation of Israel was made possible by the world's guilt over the Holocaust," he wrote (*New York Times*, letters, July 25, 1997).

M. J.
Great Neck, New York

We welcome letters from readers. We reserve the right to edit for style and space. Write: Editor, P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659.

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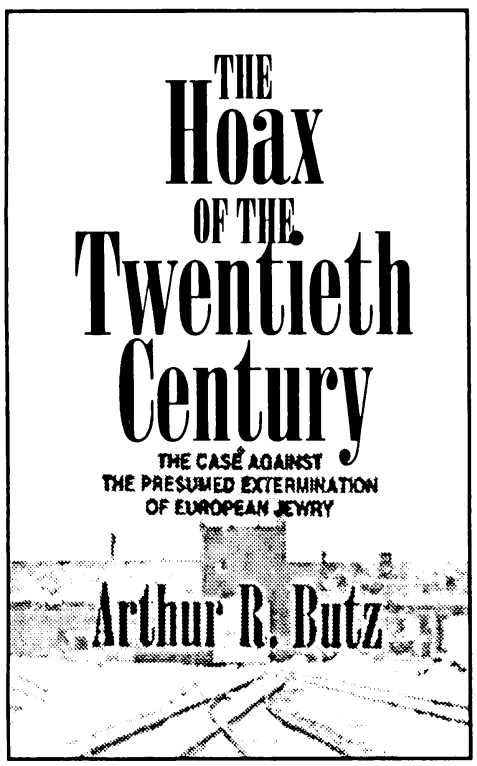

Yehuda Bauer and Prof. Moshe Davis agreed that there is a "recession in guilt feeling" over the Holocaust, encouraged by fresh arguments that the reported extermination of six million Jews during World War II never took place ... "You know, it's not difficult to fabricate history," Davis added.

— Chicago *Sun-Times*, Oct. 25, 1977

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Maligned by people who have made no effort to read it, bitterly denounced by those unable to refute its thesis, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* has sent shock waves through the academic and political world. So threatening has it been to Zionist interests and the international Holocaust lobby that its open sale has been banned in several countries, including Israel and Germany.

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Arthur R. Butz was born and raised in New York City. He received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees in Electrical Engineering from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1965 he received his doctorate in Control Sciences from the University of Minnesota. In 1966 he joined the faculty of Northwestern University (Evanston, Illinois), where he is now Associate Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering. Dr. Butz is the author of numerous technical papers. Since 1980 he has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Committee of *The Journal of Historical Review*, published by the Institute for Historical Review.

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